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ABSTRACT

Minorities contributed to all of metro Chicago's net population growth during the 1990s, with consistently high segregation levels for blacks and increasing segregation rates for suburban Latinos. With the number of whites declining in the city and unchanged in the suburbs, Latinos have been the overwhelming driver of population growth. Asians have also seen dramatic rates of increase. Minority increases have been especially strong in the suburbs. Population growth in the City of Chicago has been substantially slower. Asians are adopting neighborhood settlement patterns similar to those of whites. Chicago's child population is both more heavily minority and more racially segregated than the population as a whole. While the number of Asian and Latino children grew by 50 percent or more, the number of while children in Chicago decreased by 23 percent. Growth rates of minority homeowners outstripped even the rapid minority population increase. Segregation between white and minority homeowners is on par with segregation levels among the overall population and is especially high between black and white homeowners, regardless of city or suburban residence. Given population increases by several different minority groups, the growth of multi-ethnic neighborhoods is notable, particularly in the suburbs. Relatively few Census tracts that were moderately integrated in 1990 made the dramatic transition to become majority-minority by 2000. In the City of Chicago, all tracts that made this transition were predominantly Latino. Three figures are appended: Change in Population by Race/Ethnicity: 1990-2000; Community Areas with Greatest Absolute Change in Population by Race: 1990-2000; and Change in Child Population by Race/Ethnicity: 1990-2000. (Contains 18 figures.) (SM)

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RACE, PLACE, AND OPPORTUNITY: RACIAL CHANGE AND SEGREGATION IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA: 1990 - 2000

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May 2002

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Race, Place, and Opportunity:
Racial Change and Segregation in the Chicago Metropolitan Area: 1990-2000

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Minorities contributed all of metro Chicago's net population growth during the 1990s, but stubbornly high levels of segregation for blacks and increasing segregation rates for suburban Latinos suggest that much remains to be done to insure that these growing populations have equal access to all communities. With the number of whites declining in the City of Chicago and essentially unchanged in the suburbs, Latinos have been the overwhelming driver of population growth, and Asians have also seen dramatic rates of increase. (This report presents data for Latinos, who may be of any race, and the non-Latino members of the white, black, and Asian/Pacific Islander racial groups.) At current rates of change, the Chicago metro area will be "majority-minority" in a decade--already the situation for the school-age population. Latinos will outstrip blacks as the largest minority group well before then. The question now looms: will metro Chicago, currently in its last decade with a white majority, move forcefully towards establishing equal opportunity or will the emerging majority continue to be isolated from housing and educational opportunity?

Minority growth has been especially strong in the suburbs, where Latinos now constitute one in ten residents, up from one in twenty in 1990. It is especially disturbing, therefore, that the largest increases in overall segregation are for suburban Latinos, levels beginning to approach that found in the city of Chicago. Indeed, while whites comprise 74 percent of the total suburban population, the average Latino suburbanite lives in a neighborhood that is just 55 percent white, down from 72 percent white in 1990. Blacks, while increasing in the suburbs at a slower pace, are also approaching the 1 in 10 mark. Black/white segregation has seen slight improvement but is still dramatically higher than that of other racial/ethnic groups. Chicago ranks as the 4th most segregated large metro for blacks.

Population growth in the City of Chicago has been substantially slower, but any increase at all is noteworthy. With the white populations decreasing and black population unchanged, Latinos accounted for the bulk of the increase and now make up one in four city residents. Racial segregation in Chicago remains high but declined marginally for most groups and dropped significantly between Asians and whites. A careful examination of neighborhood change shows that Asians are adopting settlement patterns similar to whites and that areas attracting Asians are also showing substantial white growth.

Growth rates of minority homeowners outstripped even the rapid minority population increase. One might expect that racial segregation among homeowners might be less than among the overall population, given higher levels of owner income and lack of the type of subsidized housing that has helped to concentrate renters by race in the past. But segregation between white and minority homeowners is on par with segregation levels among the overall population. It is especially high between black and white owners, regardless of city or suburban residence.

Given population increases by several different minority groups, the growth of multi-ethnic neighborhoods is notable, particularly in the suburbs, where the number of such Census tracts increased by 250 percent (from 38 to 96) in just ten years. In an urban community with a history of racial tension, neighborhood stability may be greater in multi-racial neighborhoods, but that remains to be seen,

Relatively few Census tracts that were "moderately integrated" (10-20 percent of a particular minority group) in 1990 made the dramatic transition to become "majority-minority" by 2000. Within the City of Chicago, all tracts that made this transition were predominantly Latino, none were predominantly black. Rapid transition to predominantly black and Latino tracts did take place in roughly a tenth of moderately integrated suburban areas, mostly in the southern and western suburbs respectively.

The future of the Chicago area is inexorably linked to the well-being of its minority populations, most strongly in the cities and inner-suburbs, but increasingly throughout the region. While high levels of racial segregation continue to plague inner cities, recent trends raise the specter that this pattern may be duplicated in growing suburbs. Actions at all levels are needed to assure equal access to neighborhoods and educational opportunities and to facilitate stabilization of communities.

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Race, Place, and Opportunity:
Racial Change and Segregation in the Chicago Metropolitan Area: 1990-2000

Metro Area Population Growth

Over the 1990s, the Chicago metropolitan area[1] grew by 862,000 people or just under twelve percent, faster than the state of Illinois (8.6 percent,) but slightly slower than the U.S. overall (14.1 percent.) This growth was entirely attributable to an increasing minority population; the number of whites declined by almost 100,000. Thus, while metro Chicago was 66 percent white[2] in 1990, that share dropped to just 58 percent by 2000. At current rates of growth, the Chicago metro area will be "majority-minority" in just over a decade. This is already true for the school-age population.

The soaring Latino population grew by 68 percent since 1990. Latinos accounted for the vast majority of overall growth and increased their share of the population from 11.4 to 17.1 percent. Three quarters of Chicago's Latinos are of Mexican origin while a tenth are Puerto Rican[3]. Although Asians still constitute only a twentieth of the total population, their numbers grew by 70 percent. Those of Indian origin make up the largest share of Asians--over a quarter--followed by Filipinos and Chinese. Blacks grew much more slowly than other minority groups, barely maintaining a constant 19 percent population share over the decade. Latinos will undoubtedly become the largest minority group in just a few years, and, shortly thereafter, whites will become the largest minority in a region with no racial/ethnic majority group. **[Figure 1, Appendix 1]**

Suburban Population Growth

In suburban areas[4], where close to 80 percent of total metro population increase occurred, minority growth was particularly strong. The Latino population more than doubled, while the black and Asian populations grew by over 50 percent. Meanwhile, the white population increased by a negligible one percent. Latinos now constitute over one in ten suburban residents, up from one in twenty just a decade ago. The black suburban population, while growing more slowly, is also approaching the one in ten mark. Thus, white share of the suburban population declined substantially, dropping from 85 percent in 1990 to 74 percent in 2000. Not only do minorities make up a larger share of the suburban population, but a much larger portion of each minority group now resides in the suburbs than in 1990. Thus, 27 percent of blacks (up from 19 percent), 39 percent of Latinos (up from 29 percent,) and 62 percent of Asians (up from 55 percent) are suburbanites, compared with 75 percent of whites.

---

[1] Defined as the Chicago Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA) consisting of Cook, DeKalb, DuPage, Grundy, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties.

[2] Latinos may be of any race. Unless otherwise noted, other racial groups refer to only the non-Latino members of those groups.

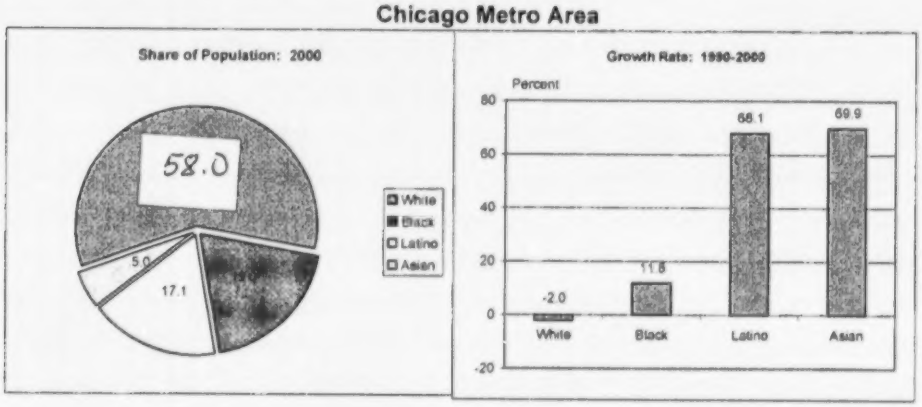
[3] Actual shares may be higher as not all Latinos indicate a specific Latino country of origin.

[4] Suburbs defined as metro area census tracts outside the cities of Chicago, Aurora, Elgin, Joliet, Evanston, North Chicago, and DeKalb.

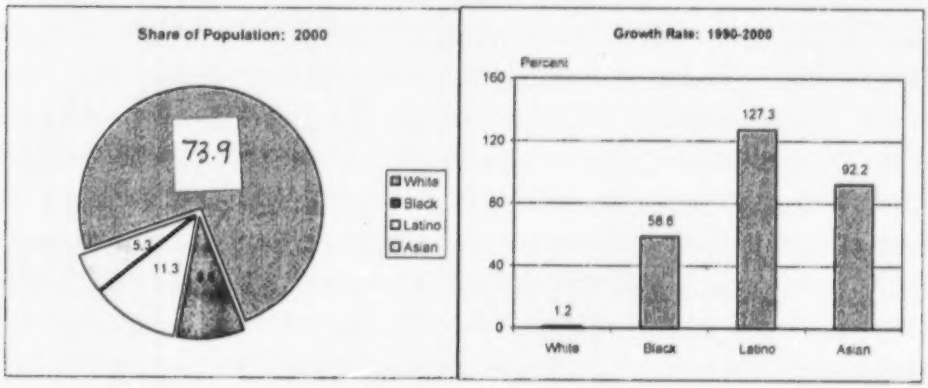
Figure 1

Latino and Asian Populations Skyrocket, Particularly in Suburbs

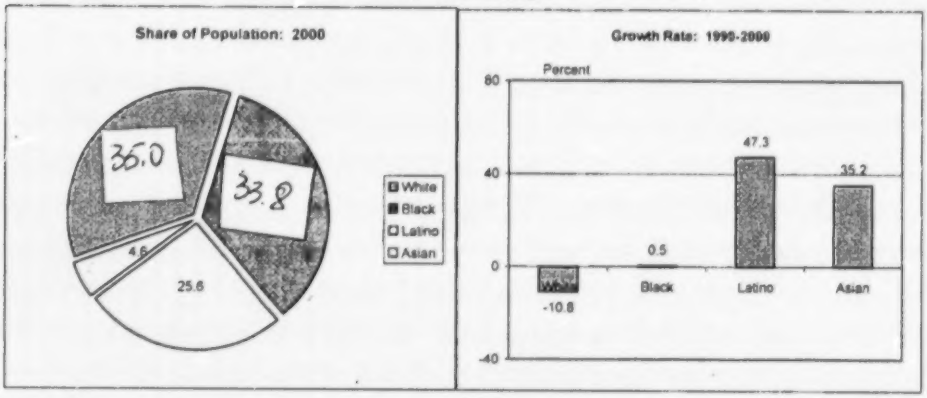
Chicago Metro Area



Chicago Suburbs



City of Chicago



Notes: Excludes small racial groups which constitute less than one percent of metro population.
White, black, and Asian groups include only non-Latino members. Suburbs exclude tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the cities of Chicago, Aurora, Elgin, Joliet, Evanston, North Chicago, and DeKalb.
Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

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Despite movement of minorities to the suburbs, racial and ethnic groups reside in distinctly different suburban areas. Although over half of metro area whites live in Cook County, and certain large Cook municipalities such as Tinley Park remain over 90 percent white, considerably higher shares of the more outlying counties of DeKalb, Grundy, McHenry and Will are white. Over the 1990s, the white population fell substantially in most Cook and DuPage suburban census tracts[5], particularly those to the south and directly west of the City of Chicago. Whites increased most notably at the outer edges of the metro area, in Will and McHenry Counties, as well as in Lake County. **[Figures 2a and 2b]**

Suburban blacks, on the other hand, are clearly clustered in the inner, south and western suburbs of Chicago such as Harvey, Maywood, Dalton, and Riverdale (those same areas which have shown sharp white declines,) to the north of North Chicago, and in certain DuPage and northern Will County neighborhoods. Strongest growth occurred in these same areas, but blacks have increased their presence to some degree in the vast majority of suburban tracts. **[Figures 3a and 3b]**

Latinos are also concentrated in the inner, western suburbs, though in different neighborhoods than those occupied by blacks. Latinos make up large shares of the population in Cicero, Summit and Melrose Park and in DuPage County. They also have a strong presence north of North Chicago in Waukegan, and in outlying McHenry County as well. Latino growth has occurred throughout the metro, especially in the inner, west suburbs of Cook County, in southeastern McHenry County, and in the suburbs of smaller cities such as North Chicago, DeKalb, Aurora and Joliet in which they already constitute a high share of the city population. **[Figures 4a and 4b]**

Suburban Asians reside predominantly in northern Cook County areas such as Skokie, Morton Grove, and Lincolnwood; in northwest Cook County in Schaumburg and Palatine; in DuPage County, especially Napierville; and throughout parts of central Lake County. Over the past decade they have increased their numbers in these areas, but have also begun to move into the edges of McHenry, Kane, and Will as well. Interestingly, the Asian population declined in substantially more suburban neighborhoods than did other minority groups, generally in those inner suburbs exhibiting strong black growth. In this way they mimicked white trends, though to a much less degree. **[Figures 5a and 5b]**

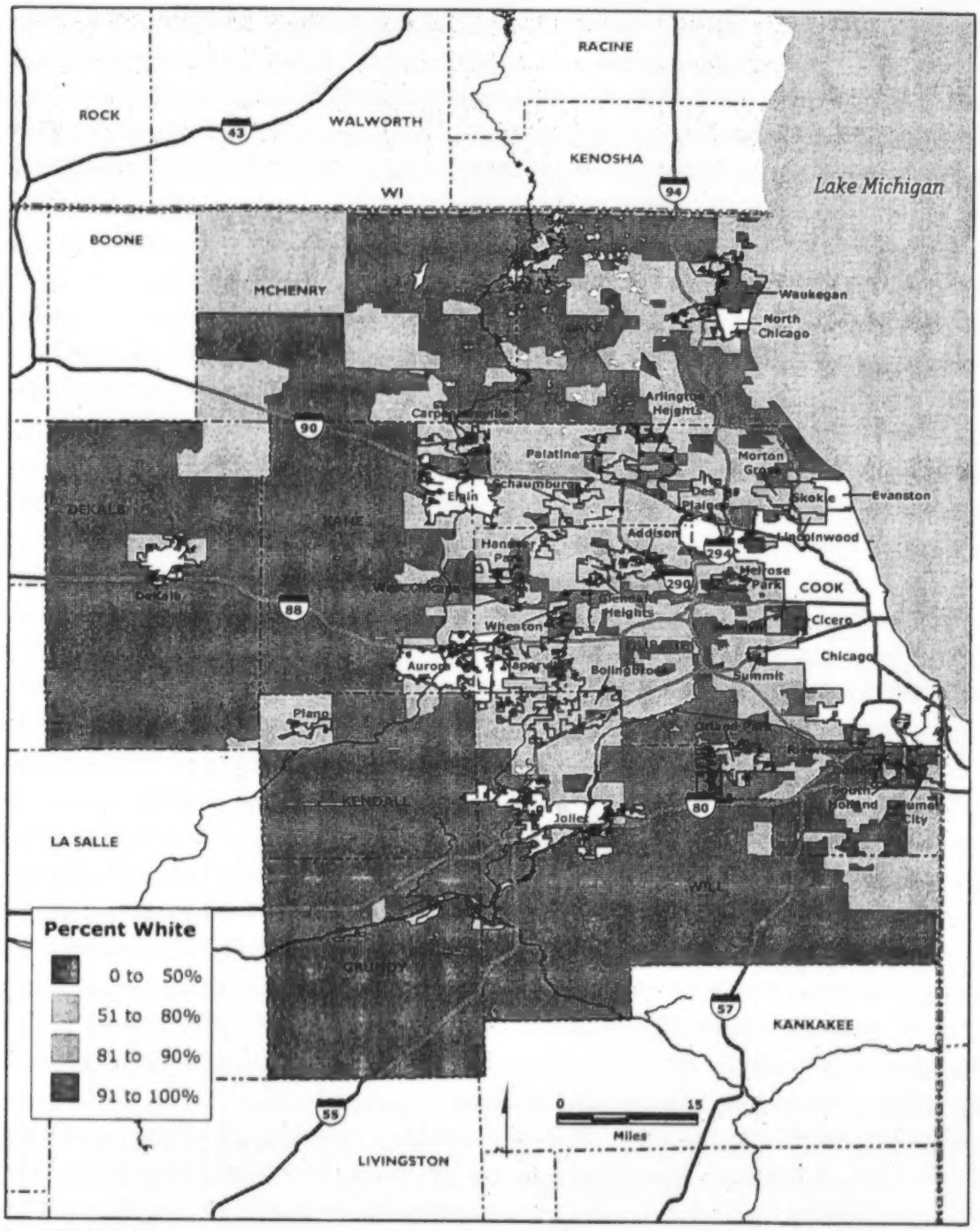
City of Chicago Population Growth

The City of Chicago grew much more slowly than did its suburbs, but the fact that it grew at all is noteworthy. Despite significant loss of its white population and essentially no growth in blacks, the city of Chicago grew for the first time in a half century, due overwhelmingly to a burgeoning Latino population. Much of this growth is due directly to foreign immigration. The Census Bureau estimates that over a fifth of the population in Chicago is foreign-born (22 percent, up from 17 percent in 1990,) and a tenth are immigrants who entered the U.S. in the

[5] Census tracts are the basic unit for most of the analysis presented in this study. Tracts are small, relatively permanent county subdivisions that are designed to be relatively homogenous with respect to population characteristics, economic status and living conditions at the time they are established. They have an average size of 4,000 people. See the Technical Appendix for information on tracts that are split by city boundaries.

Figure 2A

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Percent White by Census Tract, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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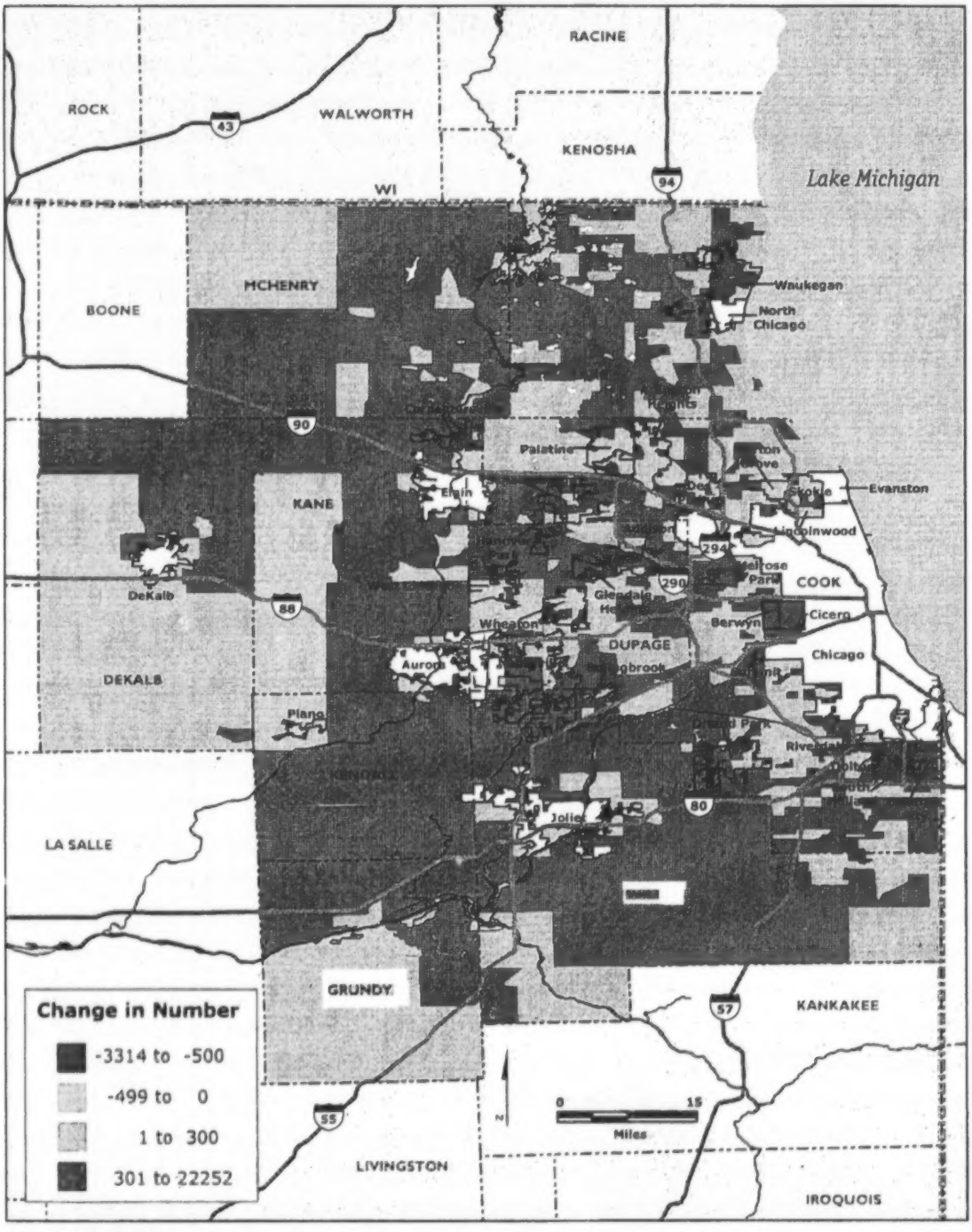
Figure 2B

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Change in White Population by Census Tract, 1990-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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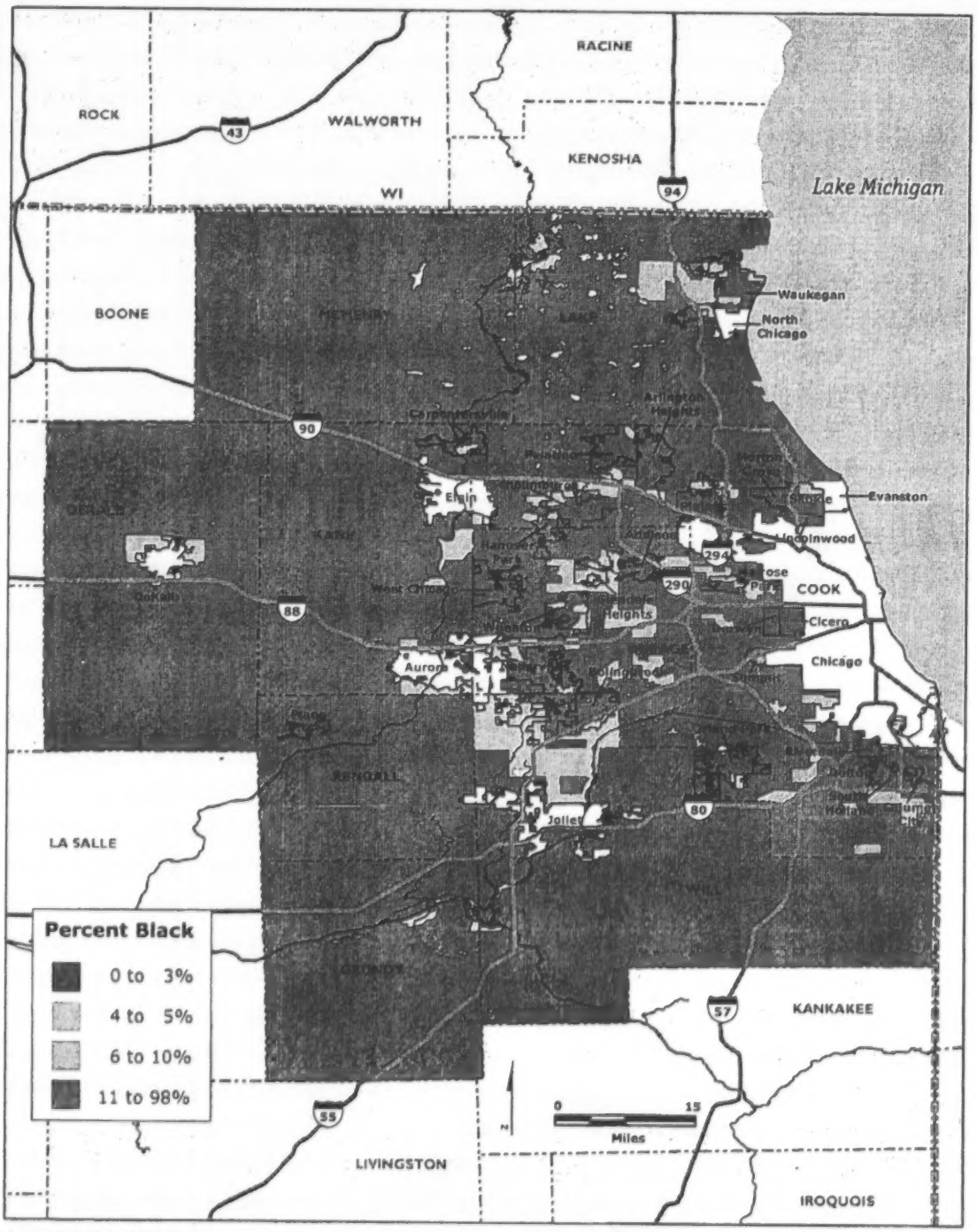
Figure 3A

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Percent Black by Census Tract, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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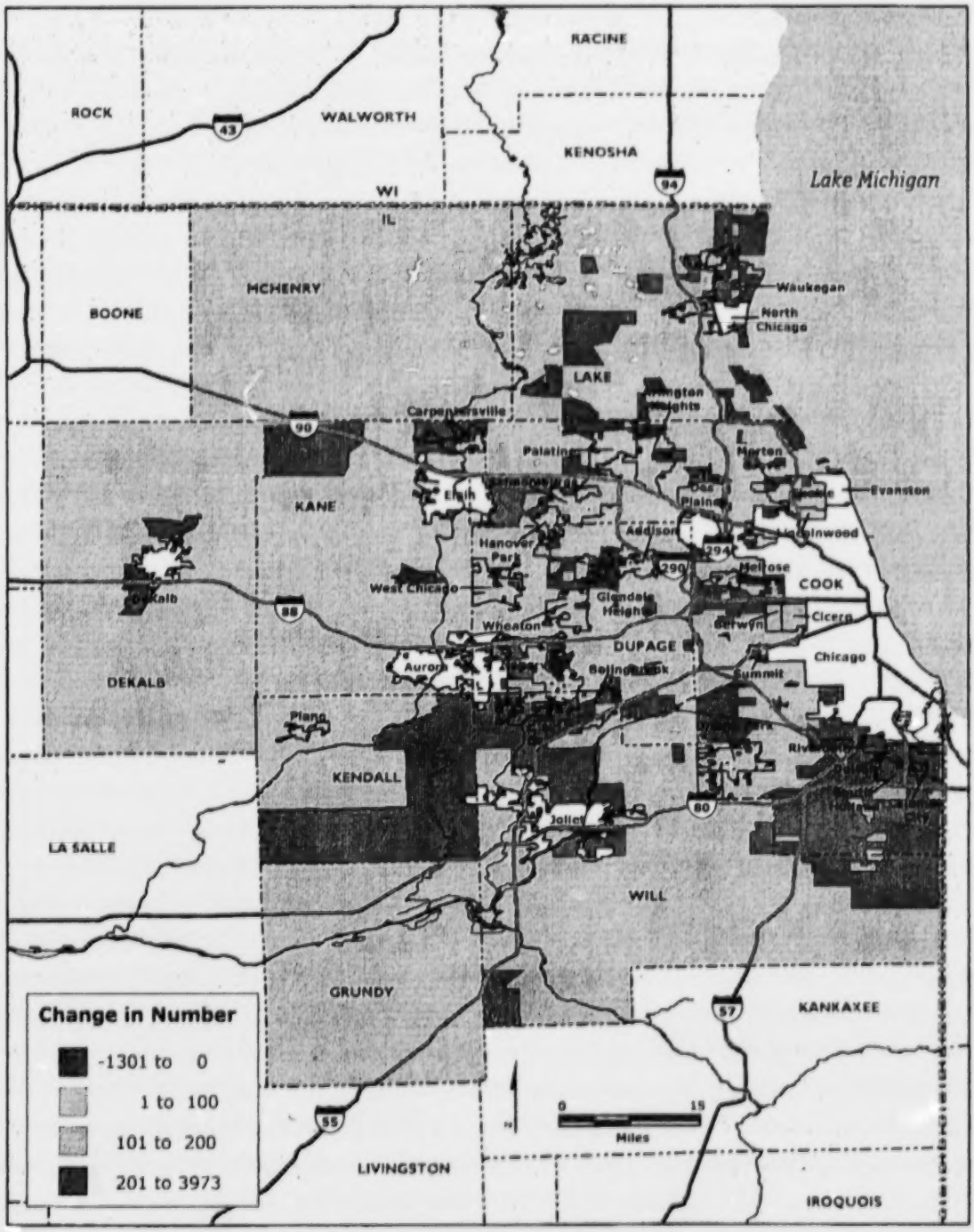
Figure 3B

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Change in Black Population by Census Tract, 1990-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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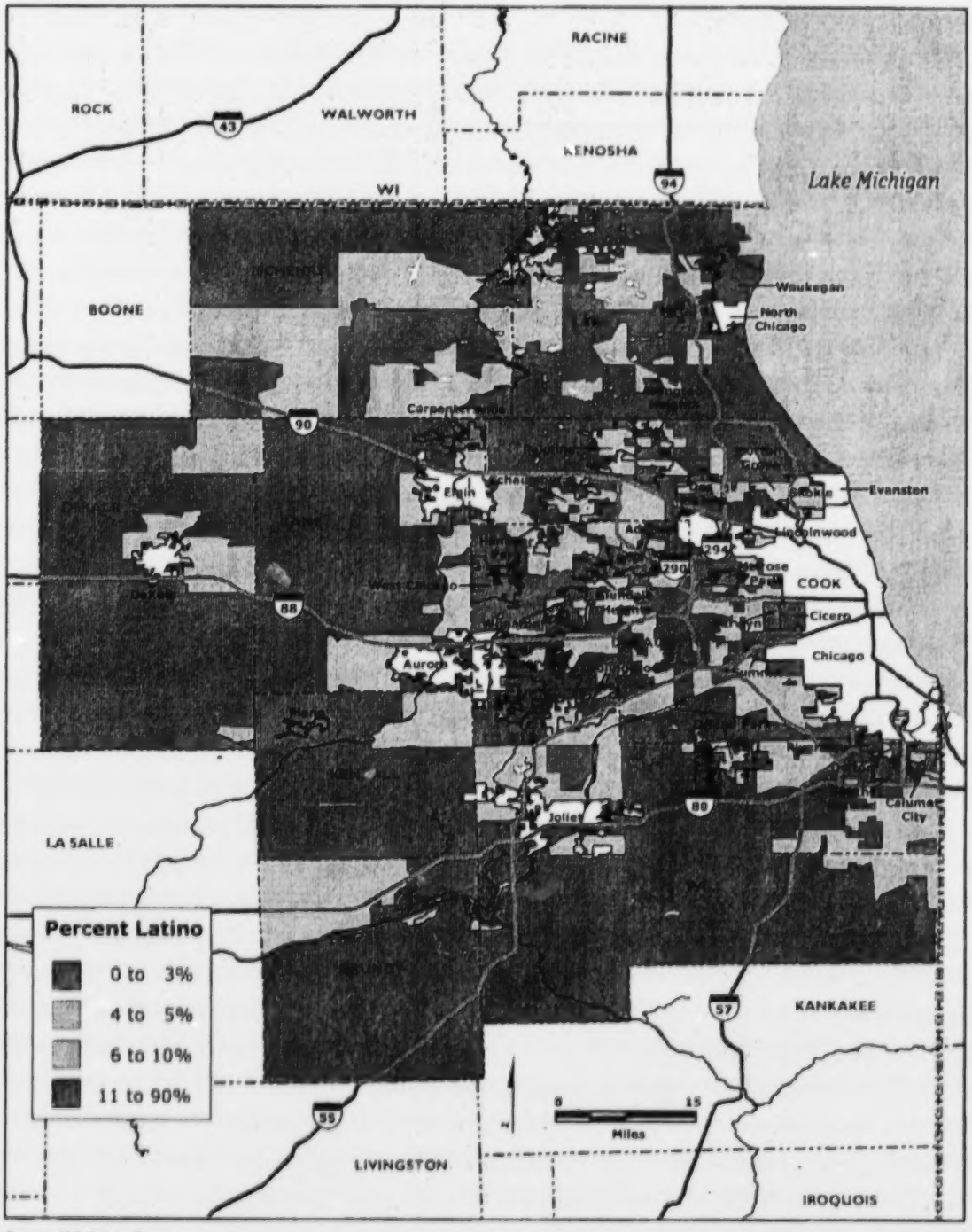
Figure 4A

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Percent Latino by Census Tract, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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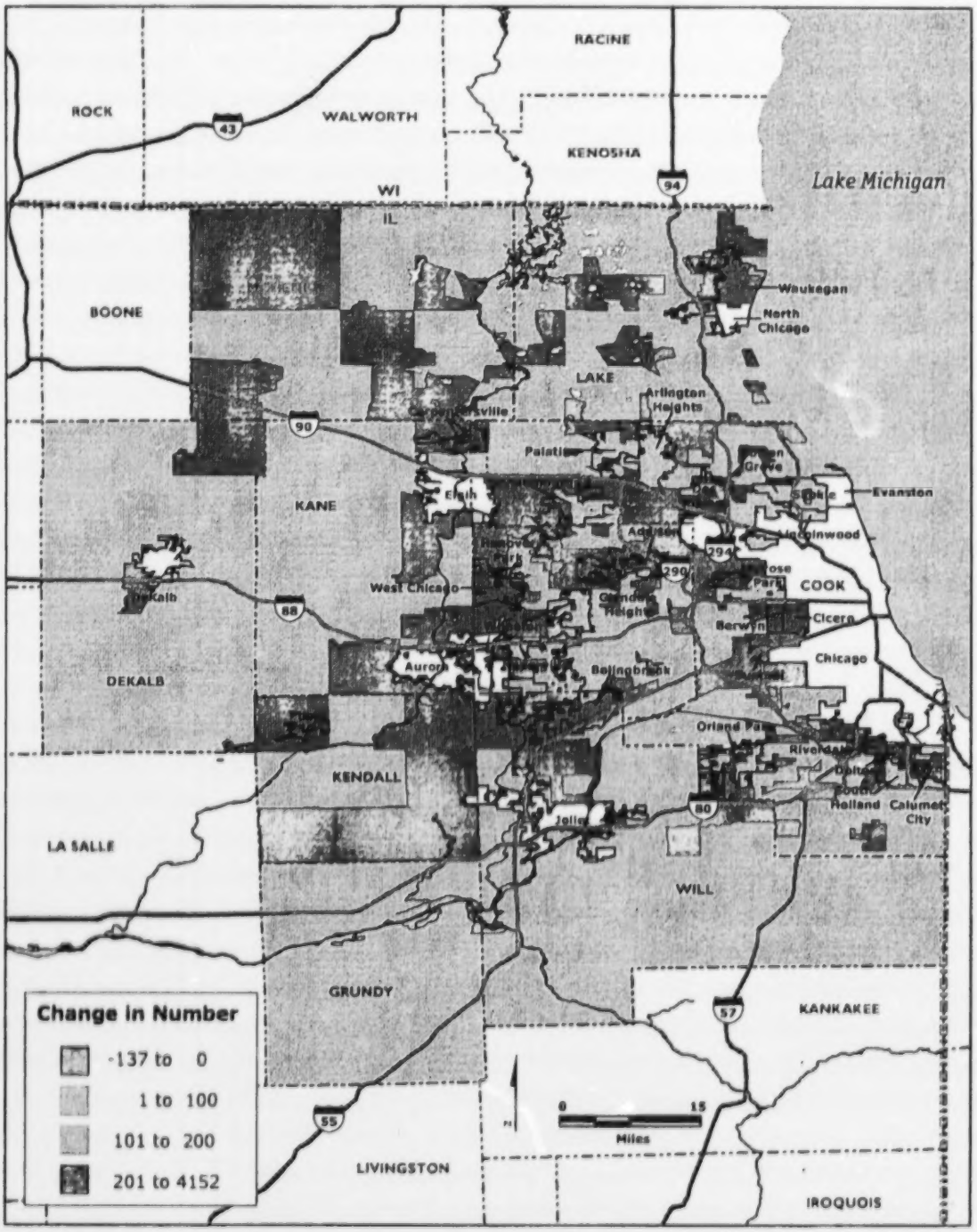
Figure 4B

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Change in Latino Population by Census Tract, 1990-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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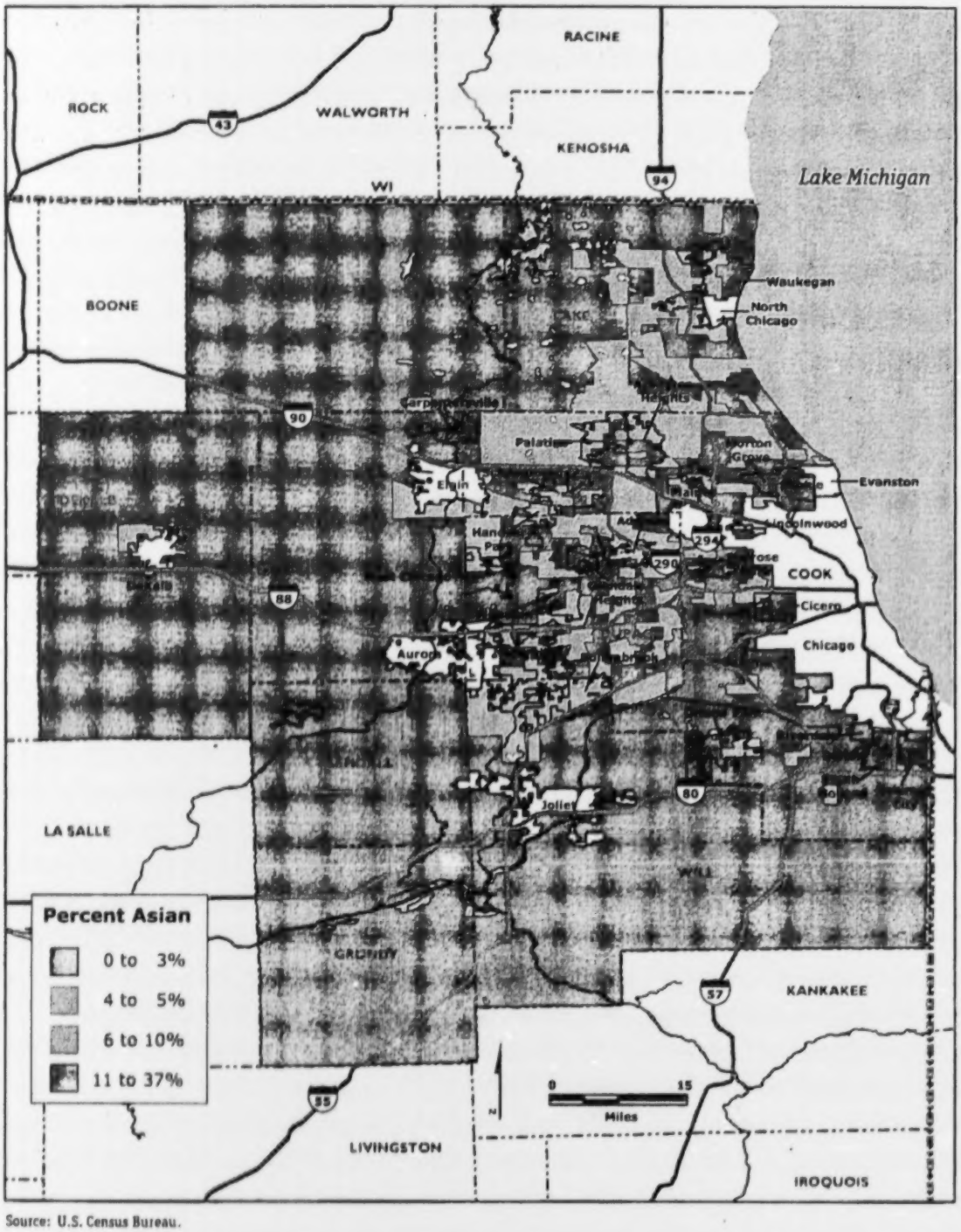
Figure 5A

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Percent Asian by Census Tract, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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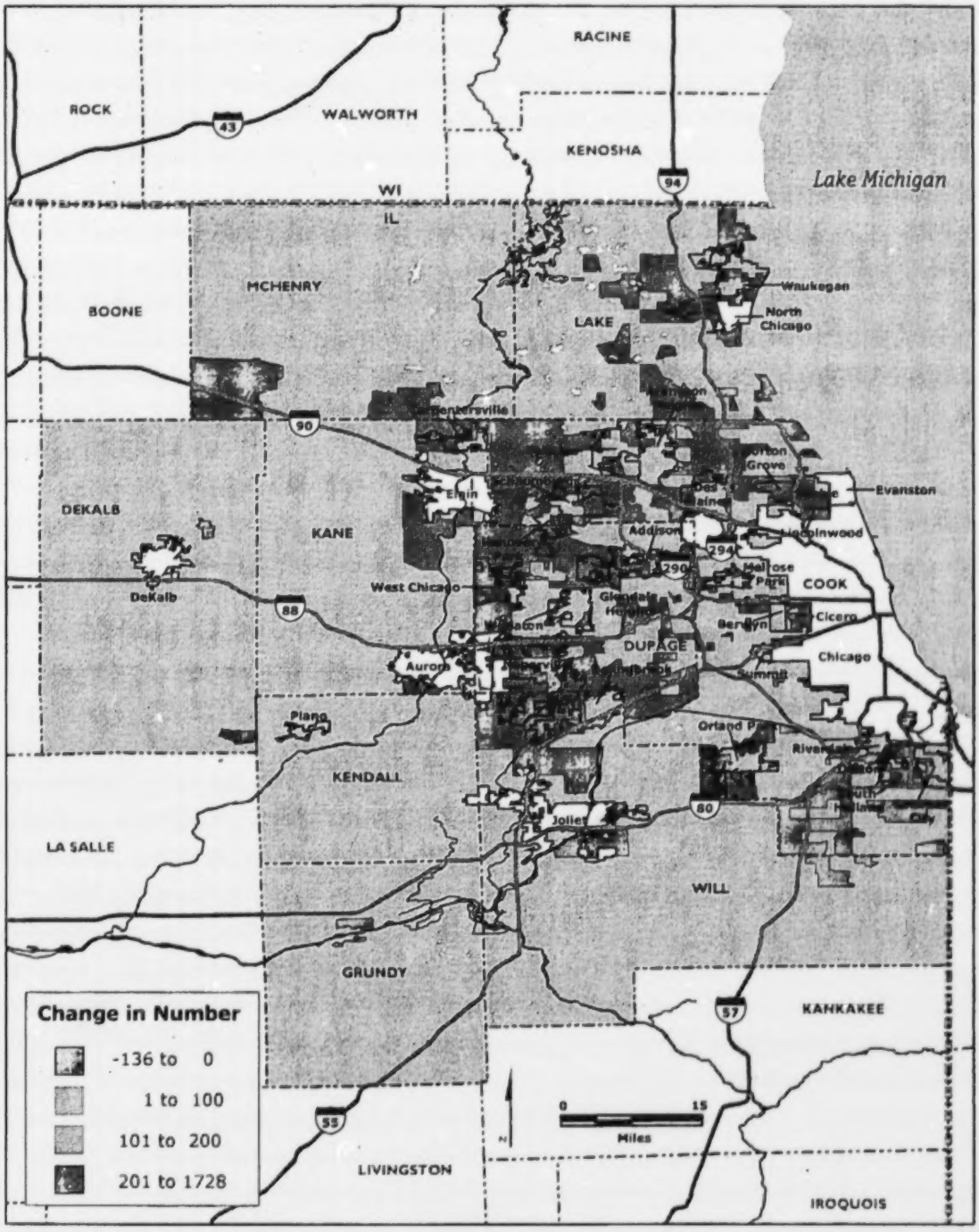
Figure 5B

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Change in Asian Population by Census Tract, 1990-2000



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1990s. Furthermore, well over a third (36 percent) of Chicago residents report speaking a language other than English at home, and over a quarter report speaking Spanish. Without foreign immigration, the City would be rapidly shrinking. Instead, like New York and Los Angeles, it is growing and becoming increasingly non-white. Latinos now account for 1 in 4 City residents (up from less than 1 in 5 in 1990.) The Asian population, while still a small share (4.6 percent) of the total, grew by over a third in just ten years.

Even more dramatically than in the suburbs, racial and ethnic groups live in distinct and separate areas within the City of Chicago. Community areas with high white shares include Lakeview and Lincoln Park along the Lake, and Edison Park, Norwood Park, Jefferson Park, Dunning, and Forest Glen in the far northwest. Much of the western and southern part of the city has little white representation, with the exception of the Garfield Ridge/Clearing area, Mount Greenwood, Hyde Park, Hegewisch, and parts of New City and Ashburn. Several communities that experienced strong minority growth also registered dramatic white declines including Ashburn, Chicago Lawn, Belmont Cragin, Brighton Park, and Gage Park-- all losing over 10,000 white residents over the decade. Of the ten communities with the largest white **losses**, six ranked among the top ten communities experiencing the largest black **gains** and seven ranked among the top ten communities experiencing the largest Latino **gains (Appendix 2).**

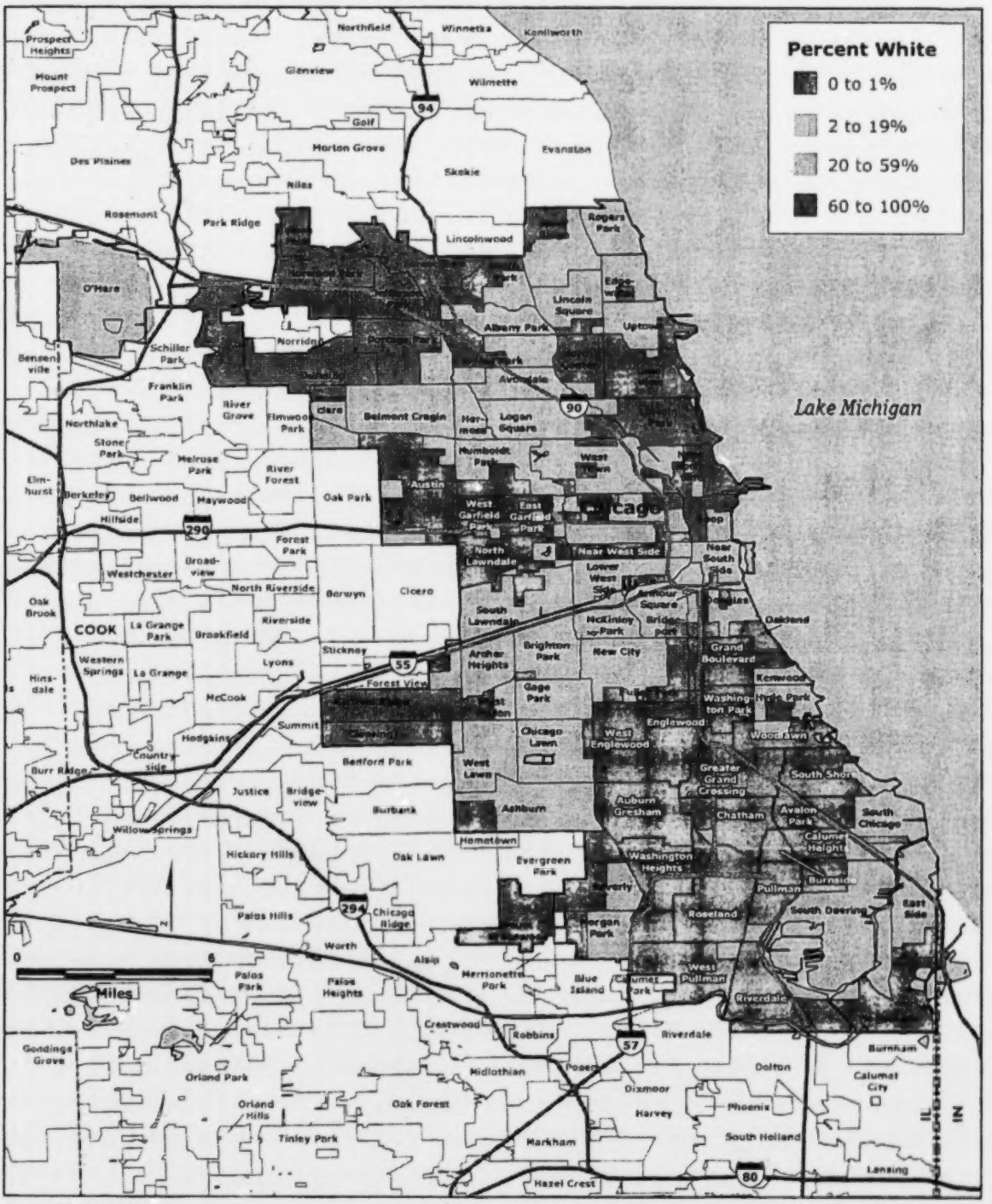
In contrast, some Chicago communities have shown notable white increase, especially West Town that added over 10,000 whites. Lake View, Near North Side, Near West Side, Lincoln Park, Near South Side and the Loop all added over 1,000 whites and all are clustered close to the Lake, mostly to the north of downtown. Many of these areas underwent large urban renewal plans decades ago. Most surprisingly, some areas with extremely small white populations to the west of downtown such as East and West Garfield Park, and North Lawndale as well as certain census tracts in Oakland, Fuller Park, Grand Boulevard, Kenwood, Washington Park, Woodlawn, Roseland, and Englewood to the South have shown white increases. It remains to be seen whether this turnaround in white migration signifies a sustained trend. **[Figures 6a and 6b]**

Blacks are heavily concentrated in two areas: a large swath to the south of downtown and one to the west (north of the canal.) Currently, few blacks live to the southwest or in the northwest, but their numbers are growing in these areas. Communities with the greatest black increases tend to be near the far borders of the City: Chicago Lawn and Ashburn in the Southwest; Austin and Belmont Cragin toward the west and Rogers Park and West Ridge in the far North. Interestingly, some of the neighborhoods directly to the west and south of downtown such as North Lawndale, East Garfield Park, Englewood, Grand Blvd., and Roseland, which have large black populations, are now experiencing black declines, at the same time that the white population in parts of these communities is increasing. Clearly there is a long-term impact of urban renewal, development of the University of Illinois and other institutions, and large-scale private investment near the Loop. Nevertheless these areas remained at least 90 percent black in 2000. **[Figures 7a and 7b]**

Those southwestern and northwestern neighborhoods with small black concentrations, instead contain large shares of Latinos, with the Lower West Side, Hermosa, and South Lawndale all being 80 percent or more Latino. Latinos have increased their presence in these areas, expanding further toward the north into Albany Park, Portage Park, and Irving Park, as well as

Figure 6A

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Percent White by Census Tract, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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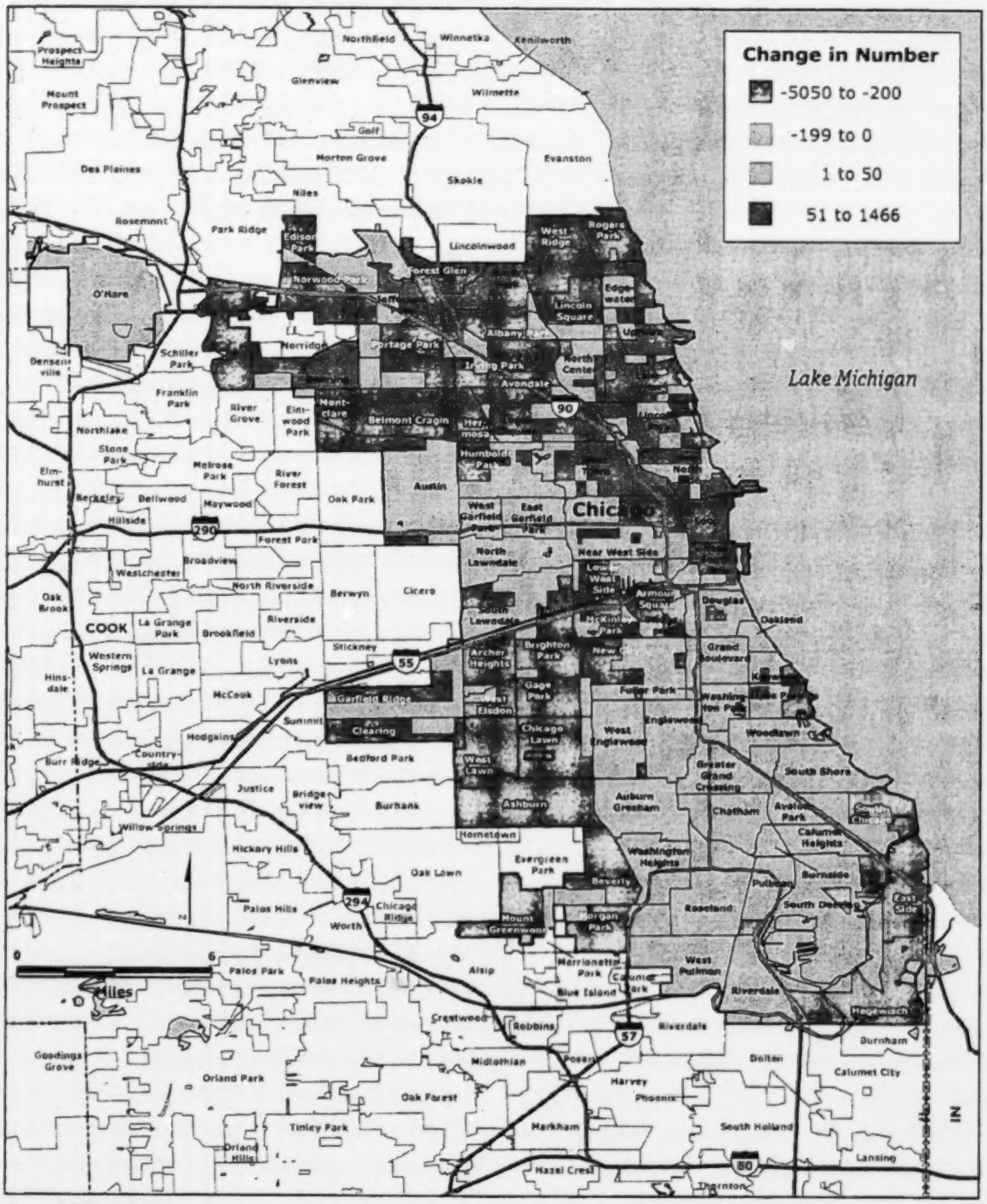
Figure 6B

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Change in White Population by Census Tract, 1990-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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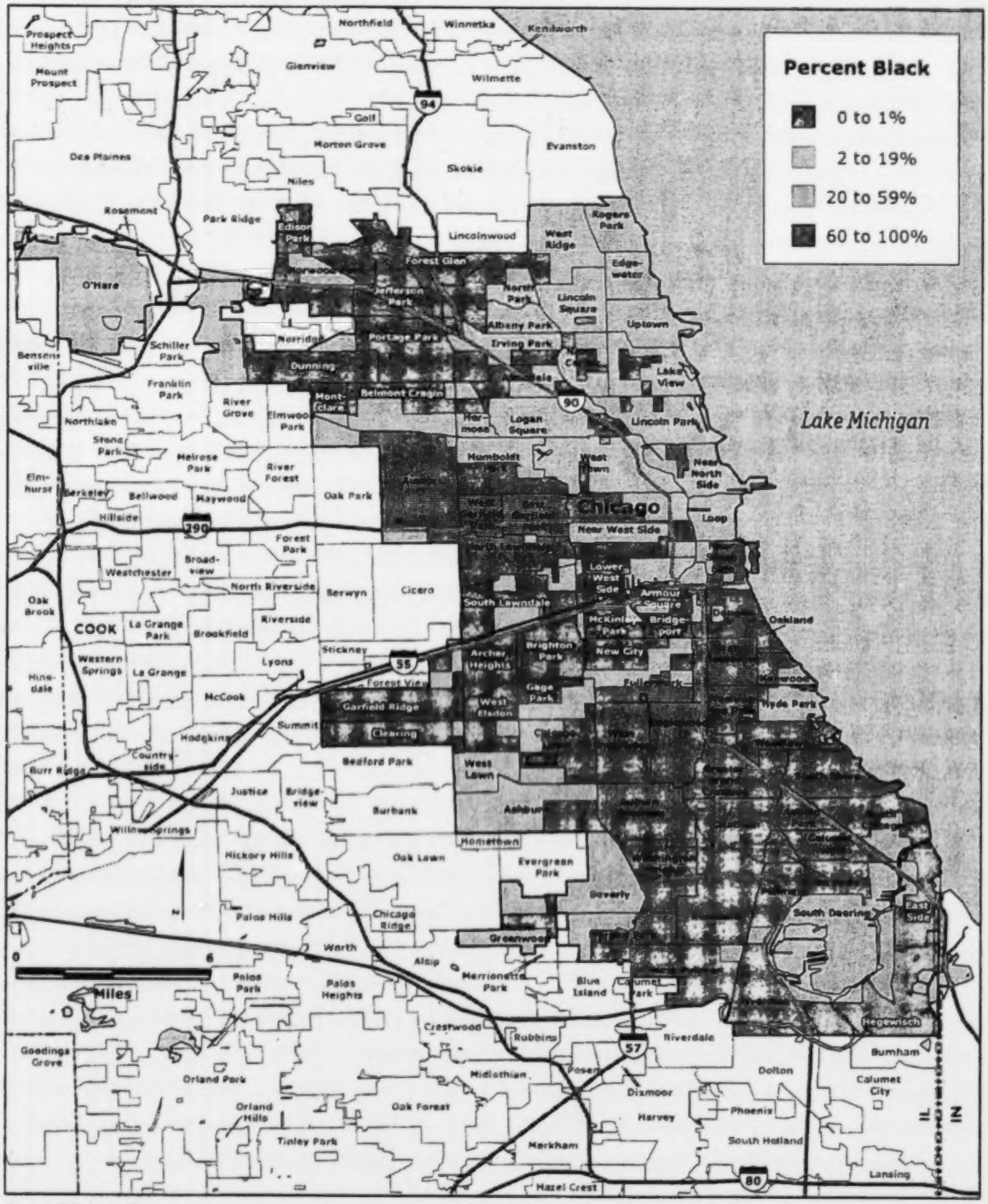
Figure 7A

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Percent Black by Census Tract, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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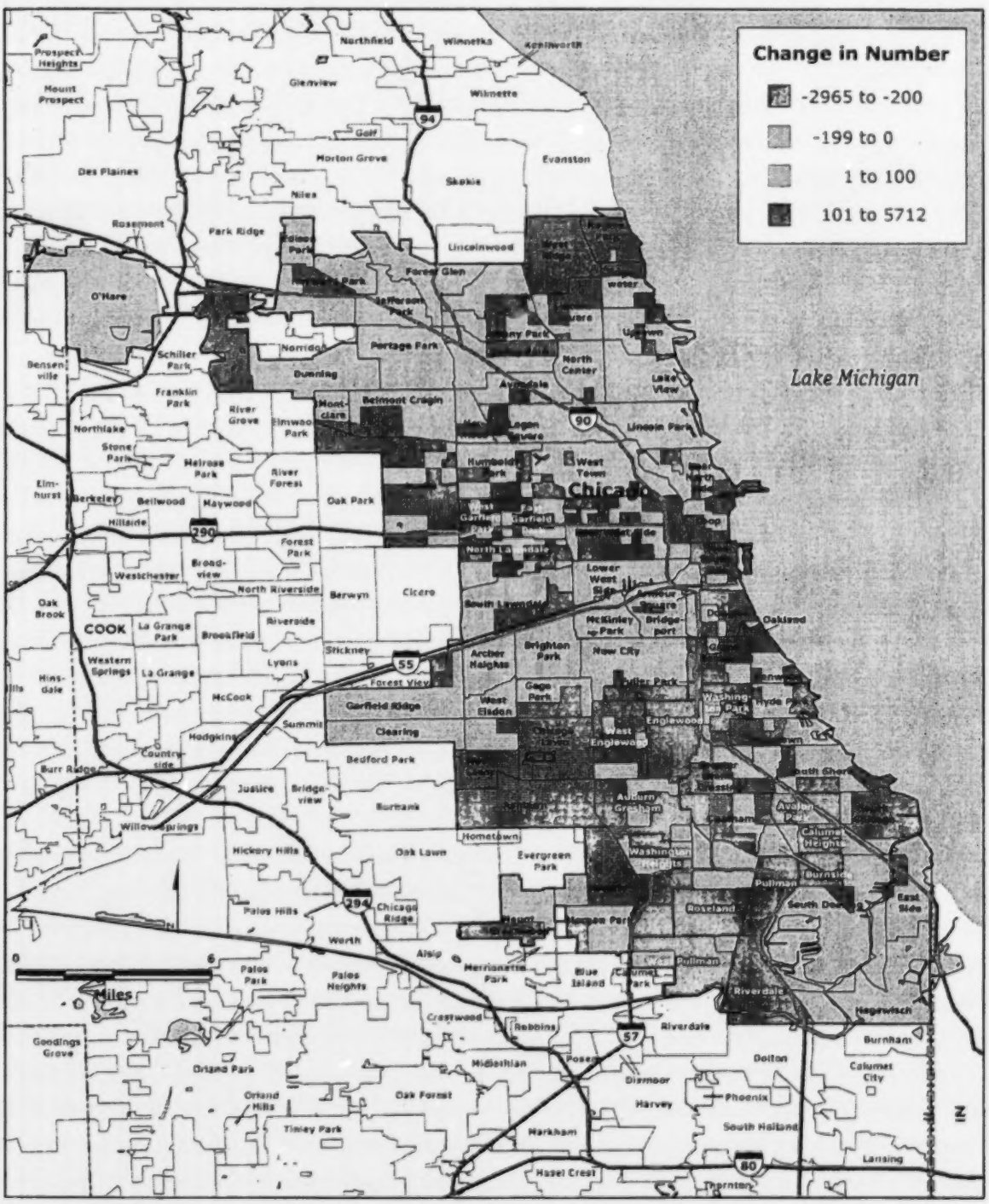
Figure 7B

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Change in Black Population by Census Tract, 1990-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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south into West Lawn and Chicago Lawn. Concurrently, Latino populations have declined in areas to the northwest of the Loop such as West Town, North Center, and Lakeview, communities with increasing white populations. **[Figures 8a and 8b]**

Asians generally reside in the inner ring communities around the Loop, and in the far North. Armour Square stands out with over 60 percent of its population being Asian. These areas continue to have strong Asian increases, particularly West Ridge in the far north and Bridgeport, just west of Armour Square. The Lakeside communities of Lake View, Lincoln Park, and Near North Side also posted strong Asian gains. With the exception of Hyde Park, there is relatively little Asian presence in the southern communities that are heavily black or Latino. **[Figures 9a and 9b]**

Trends in Segregation

Chicago continues to be one of the most segregated metro areas in the nation. Black-white segregation, as measured by the dissimilarity index, fell moderately from 83.9 to 80.3, dropping Chicago from the second most segregated large metro to the fourth. The dissimilarity index is a measure of evenness and expresses the share of minorities that would have to move to another area (Census tract in this analysis) so that the proportion of minority to majority population in each tract matches the proportion in the larger area of interest as a whole. In this paper, it ranges from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (maximum segregation.) While Latino-white segregation was essentially unchanged (62.0 to 61.1) metro-wide, and Chicago remained the fourth most segregated large metro along this dimension, Latino segregation shot up in suburban areas. **[Figure 10]**

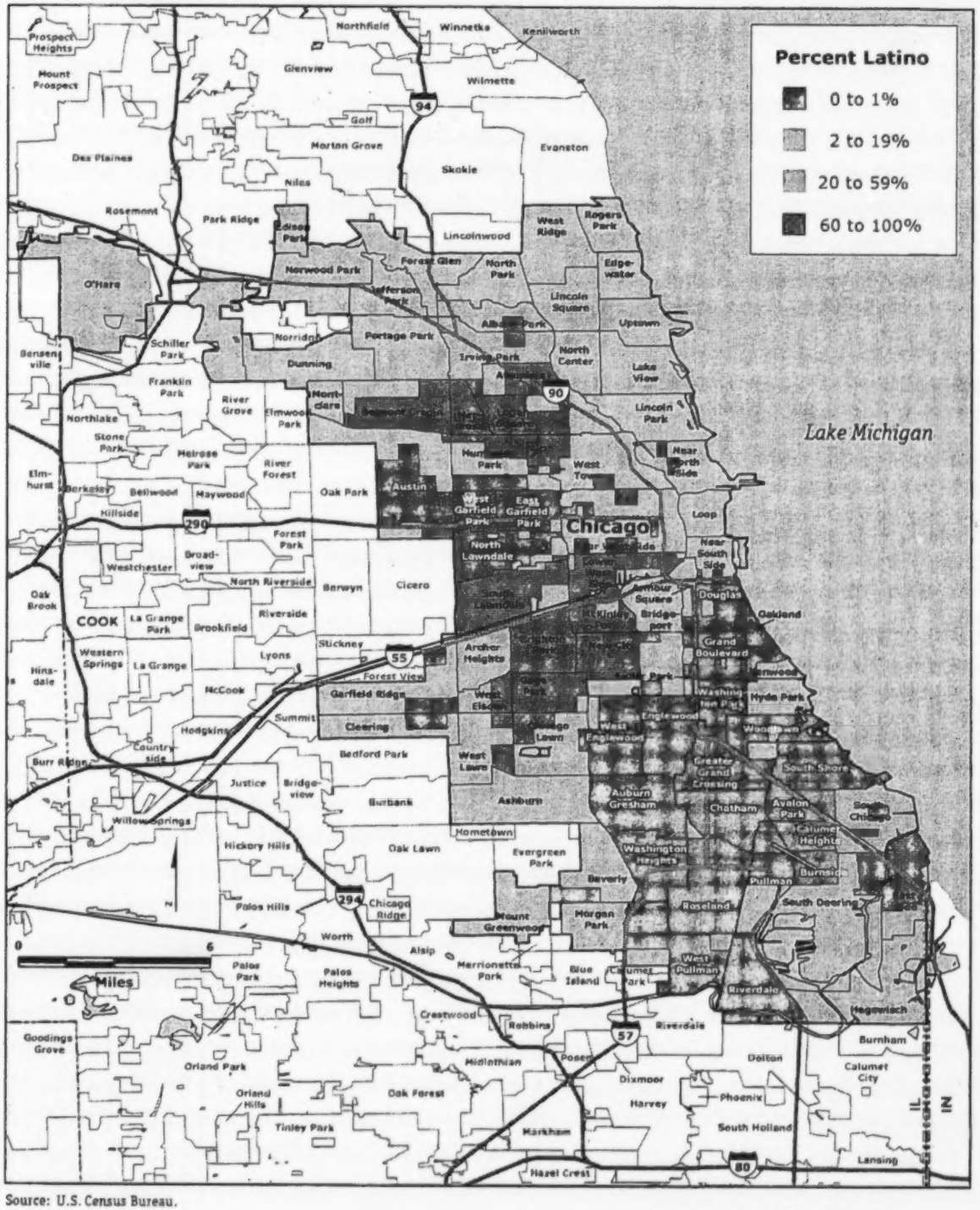
Indeed, most of the changes in segregation have taken place in the suburbs, the areas with the fastest growing minority populations. As in the metro area as a whole, black-white segregation has fallen slightly while black-Latino and black-Asian segregation have also declined. The most dramatic change, however, has been the increasing segregation of Latinos from non-Latino whites. Between 1990 and 2000, the white/Latino dissimilarity index rose from 44.7 to 51.9.

Looked at another way, although whites made up 74 percent of the total Chicago suburban population in 2000, the census tract occupied by the average Latino suburbanite was only 55 percent white, down from 72 percent in 1990. While the white share of the suburbs as a whole fell by 13 percent, the white share of the tract occupied by the average Latino suburbanite fell by 24 percent. Similarly, while the Latino share of the suburbs as a whole increased by 98 percent, the Latino share of the tract occupied by the average white suburbanite rose by just 69 percent. Thus, whites and Latinos in the suburbs face less exposure to each other in the tracts where they live than would be expected given the change in racial composition of the suburbs overall. **[Figure 11]**

Within the City of Chicago, segregation improved slightly for all groups but most significantly between whites and Asians. Not only are Asians and whites the most integrated of all the groups but their levels of integration in the City are on par with those found in the suburbs. This result is consistent with the increasingly similar white/Asian settlement patterns discussed previously. All other groups face substantially more segregation in the City than they do in outlying areas.

Figure 8A

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Percent Latino by Census Tract, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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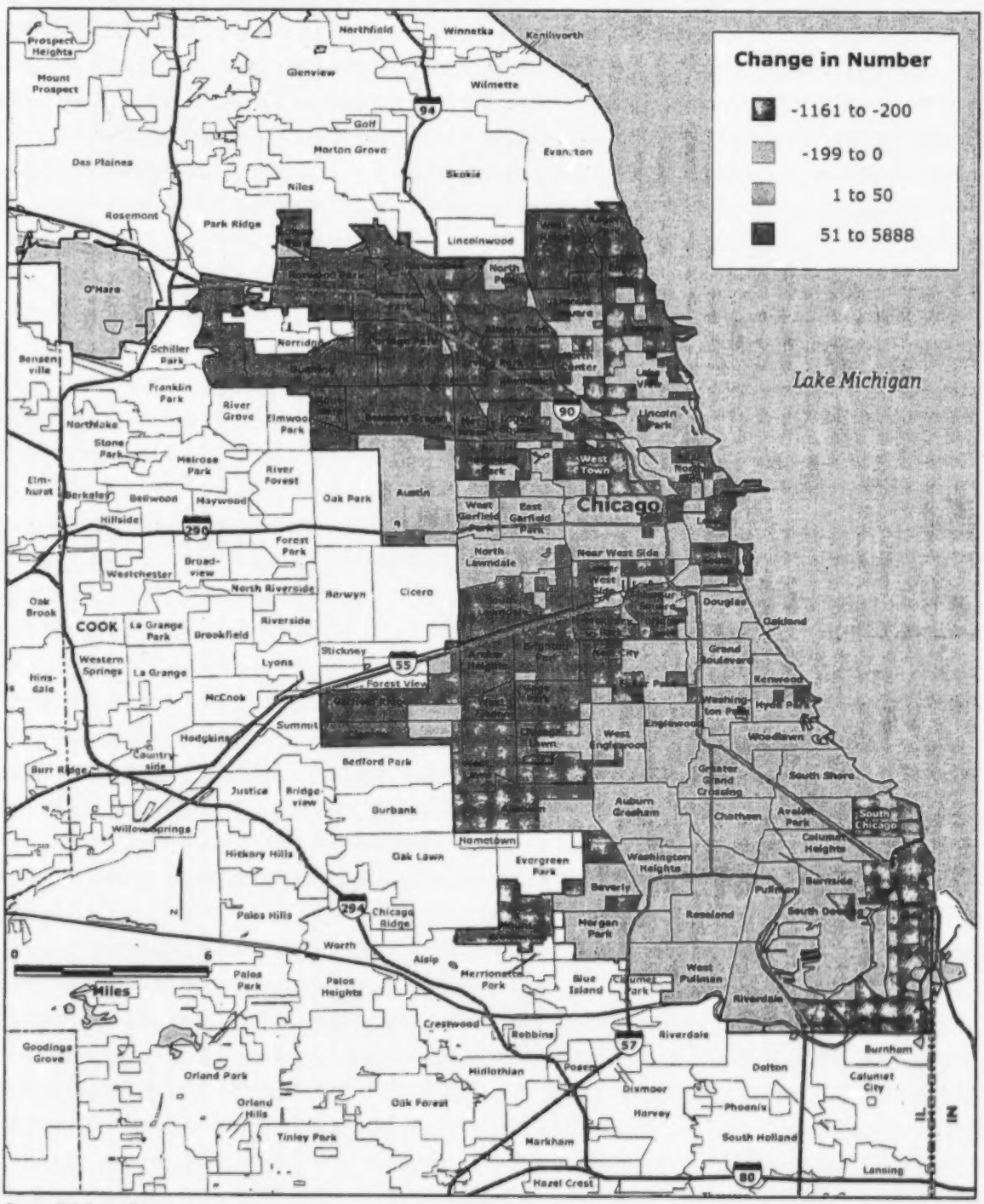
Figure 8B

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Change in Latino Population by Census Tract, 1990-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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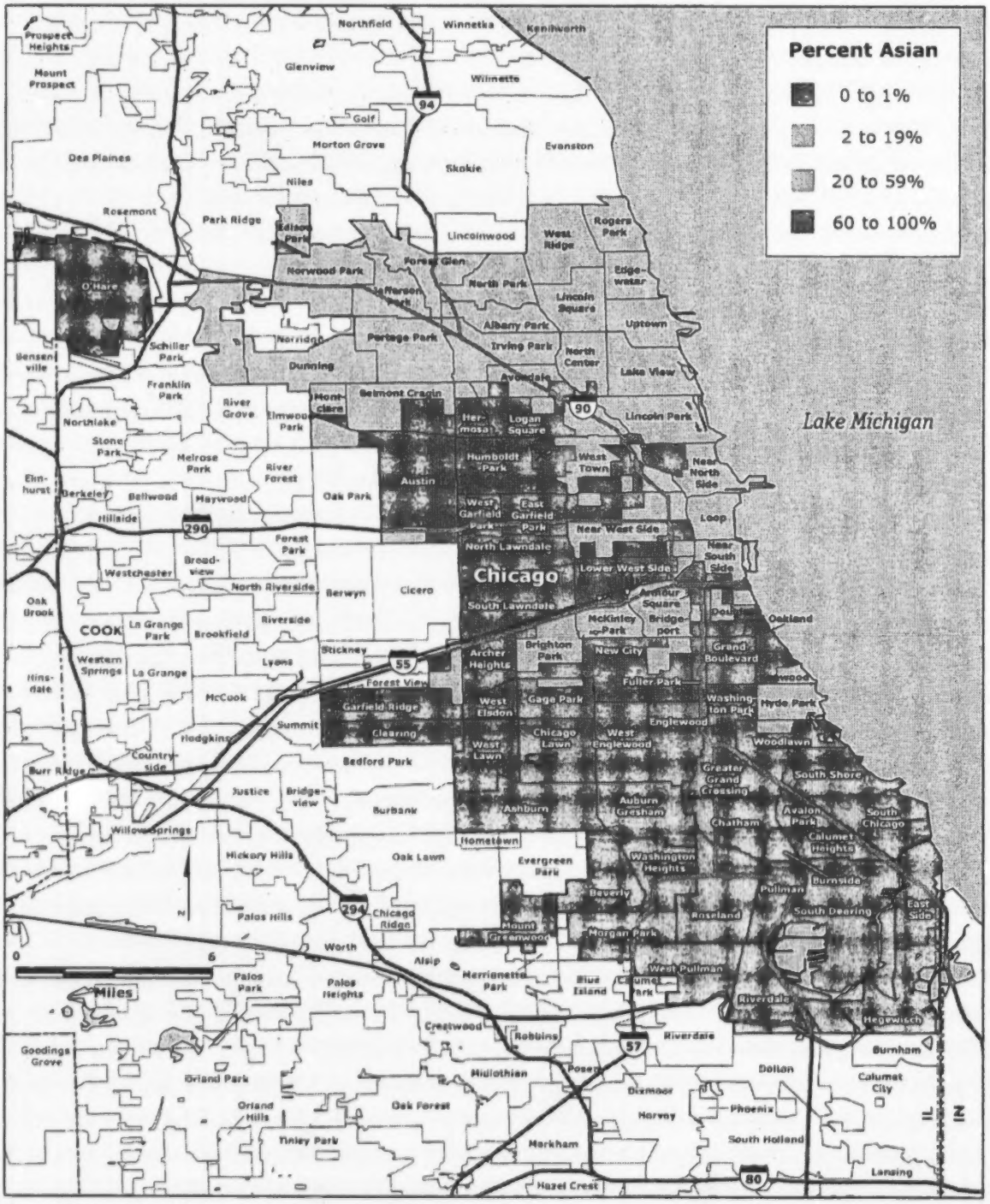
Figure 9A.

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Percent Asian by Census Tract, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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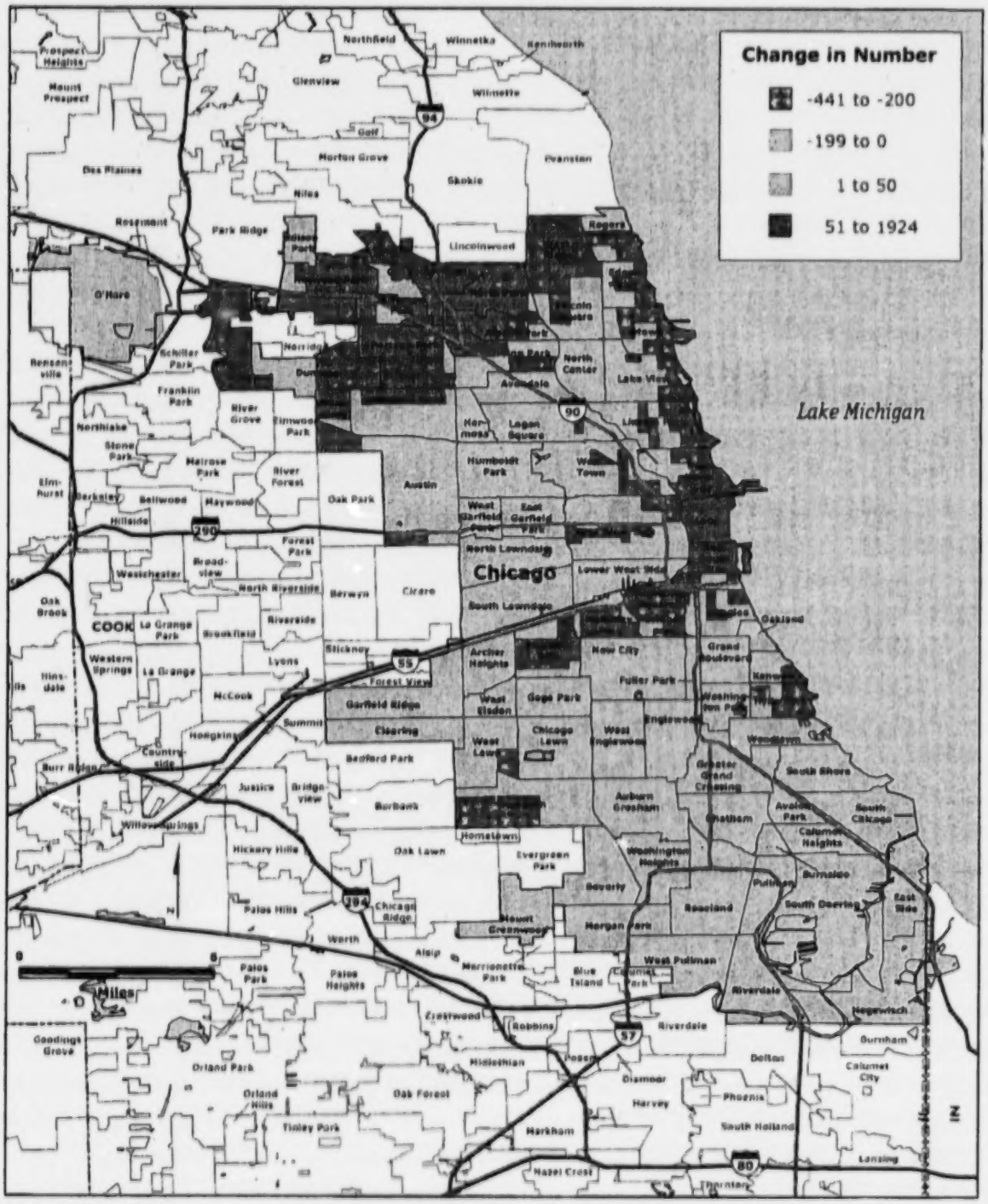
Figure 9B

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Change in Asian Population by Census Tract, 1990-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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Figure 10

Change in Chicago Segregation: 1990-2000
(Dissimilarity Indices)

	Total Population			Under Age 18		
	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Metro Area						
White/Black	83.9	80.3	-3.6	86.1	83.0	-3.1
White/Latino	62.0	61.1	-0.9	67.0	66.5	-0.5
White/Asian	44.8	42.9	-1.9	46.9	45.1	-1.8
Black/Latino	80.4	77.0	-3.4	80.3	76.6	-3.7
Black/Asian	84.7	81.4	-3.3	86.5	83.4	-3.1
Latino/Asian	62.8	62.7	-0.1	66.8	65.2	-1.6
City of Chicago						
White/Black	87.4	85.2	-2.2	89.8	88.1	-1.7
White/Latino	59.6	59.2	-0.4	61.7	62.3	0.6
White/Asian	51.3	46.8	-4.5	55.2	53.5	-1.7
Black/Latino	86.0	84.2	-1.8	86.3	84.7	-1.6
Black/Asian	88.5	86.2	-2.3	90.4	89.2	-1.2
Latino/Asian	67.1	66.4	-0.7	70.9	68.3	-2.6
Suburbs						
White/Black	74.7	72.0	-2.7	76.0	73.7	-2.3
White/Latino	44.7	51.9	7.2	47.7	55.5	7.8
White/Asian	40.3	41.6	1.3	42.4	42.6	0.2
Black/Latino	68.4	66.8	-1.6	68.5	65.9	-2.6
Black/Asian	77.8	74.9	-2.9	79.3	75.0	-4.3
Latino/Asian	53.8	57.0	3.2	57.3	58.6	1.3

Notes: "Suburbs" exclude tracts and portions of tracts in cities of Chicago, Aurora, DeKalb, Elgin, Evanston, Joliet, and North Chicago.
Segregation is measured by the Dissimilarity Index which expresses the share of minorities that would have to move to another area (Census tract in this case) to achieve an even distribution across all areas. For this table, it ranges from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (total segregation.)

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

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Figure 11

Racial Composition of Census Tracts Occupied by Average Resident of Each Race: 1990 and 2000

City of Chicago

	Racial Composition of City			Composition of Tracts Occupied by Average Resident of Specified Race											
				White			Black			Asian			Latino		
	1990	2000	% Change in Share	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change
% Black	35.8	33.8	-5.6	6.9	8.4	21.7	87.0	84.3	-3.1	10.5	11.0	4.8	9.9	9.6	-3.0
% White	41.9	35.0	-16.5	71.2	61.9	-13.1	6.8	7.1	4.4	52.8	45.5	-13.8	32.2	25.8	-19.9
% Asian	3.6	4.6	27.8	4.9	6.9	40.8	1.0	1.4	40.0	17.4	20.0	14.9	3.4	4.0	17.6
% Latino	18.5	25.6	38.4	16.6	21.4	28.9	5.0	6.8	36.0	18.7	21.8	16.6	54.1	59.3	9.6

Suburbs

	Racial Composition of Suburbs			White			Black			Asian			Latino		
	1990	2000	% Change in Share	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change
% Black	6.4	8.8	37.5	3.4	4.5	32.4	47.0	49.2	4.7	3.4	4.7	38.2	7.1	7.8	9.9
% White	84.5	73.9	-12.5	88.4	81.3	-8.0	44.7	37.5	-16.1	83.8	73.0	-12.9	72.2	54.8	-24.1
% Asian	3.2	5.3	65.6	3.2	5.2	62.5	1.7	2.8	64.7	7.1	11.7	64.8	3.1	4.6	48.4
% Latino	5.7	11.3	98.2	4.9	8.3	69.4	6.3	9.9	57.1	5.5	9.8	78.2	17.4	32.0	83.9

Notes: "Suburbs" exclude tracts and portions of tracts in cities of Chicago, Aurora, DeKalb, Elgin, Evanston, Joliet, and North Chicago. Latinos may be of any race.

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

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Black segregation remains extremely high, and blacks are equally segregated from whites, Latinos, and Asians.

Interestingly, while the city tracts in which the average white, Latino, and Asian city-dwellers lived all experienced declining white presence, the tracts occupied by the average black showed a slight increase in white share (albeit from a very small base.) While the white share of the City as a whole **fell** by 17 percent, the white share of the tract occupied by the average black suburbanite **increased** by 4.4 percent. Similarly, while the black share of the City as a whole **fell** by 6 percent, the black share of the tract occupied by the white in the City **rose** by 22 percent. Thus, whites and blacks in the City face greater exposure to each other in the tracts where they live than would be expected given the change in racial composition of the City overall. This finding further highlights the increasing white presence in formerly overwhelmingly black areas of south Chicago, possibly a reflection of gentrification processes that could provide an opportunity for increasing integrated neighborhoods.

Segregation of Children

The Chicago metro's child population (under age 18) is both more heavily minority and more racially segregated than the population as a whole. As the number of Latino and Asian children grew by fifty percent or more and the number of white children remained unchanged, metro Chicago's child population became "majority-minority." Blacks and Latinos now each make up over a fifth of children metro-wide. **[Appendix 3]**

The City of Chicago experienced a dramatic decline in the number of white children (-36,000 or -23 percent). This rate of decrease was twice as rapid as that experienced by the overall white population. Whites now make up just a sixth of the City's children. The Latino share grew sharply as the number of Latino children grew by over 65,000. Although the number of black children remained unchanged and their population share dropped slightly, they continue to comprise the largest share of Chicago's children, 45 percent.

Growth of minority children was especially strong in the suburbs, where they now make up a third of children, up from a fifth in 1990. The number of suburban Latino children more than doubled while the number of blacks and Asians rose by over 60 percent. In contrast, the number of white children increased by just three percent. Even in absolute terms, each of the three largest minority groups individually added more to their suburban child populations than did whites.

Although metro Chicago's children became somewhat more integrated over the decade, children remain highly segregated and are more segregated than adults, especially in the City. Indeed close to 90 percent of City black children would have to move to another census tract in order for them to be evenly distributed in relation to white and Asian children. Segregation among children showed a pattern similar to the overall population—slight/moderate improvements for most groups accompanied by increasing segregation of Latinos in the suburbs. **[Figure 10]**

Given the high level of residential segregation, it's not surprising that minority children are educated in different environments than white children. This finding is further supported by

patterns in school enrollment by county. Between 1991 and 2000, Cook County lost 10,000 white students while its Latino enrollment surged by almost 70,000 students. The largest numerical increases in black and Asian enrollment also took place in Cook, a county that has the lowest household income, the lowest homeownership rate, and the lowest level of job growth of any in the metro area. Meanwhile, white school enrollment grew most strongly in Lake, DuPage and McHenry, areas with substantially better incomes and employment opportunities. **[Figure 12]**

Growth and Segregation of Homeowners

Homeownership rates in the Chicago metro area grew strongly during the 1990s, from 61.0 percent in 1990 to 64.6 percent in 2000, reflecting an increase of 290,000 owners. Minorities contributed sixty percent of the net increase in the number of owners[6], and the rates of growth of minority owners dramatically outpaced that of white owners, in Chicago, in its satellite cities[7], and in the suburbs. The absolute number of white owners declined in the cities of Chicago and North Chicago and in Cook County overall, and increased fastest in outlying areas of Will, McHenry and Kendall counties. **[Figure 13]**

Latinos showed the greatest gains overall, contributing over a quarter of net new owners throughout the metro area and a far greater share in Chicago and the satellite cities. While growth of Latino owners was fairly equally split between cities and suburbs, 70 percent of the increase in black owners occurred in the suburbs. This trend was even stronger for Asians. Close to 80 percent of the increase in the number of Asian owners took place in suburbs. While Asians have ownership rates well below those of whites in more urban areas of Chicago, in outlying counties such as Will and Kendall, their rates slightly exceed those of whites.

One might expect that racial segregation among homeowners might be less than among the overall population, given higher levels of owner income and lack of the type of subsidized housing that has helped to concentrate renters by race in the past. But segregation between white and minority homeowners is on par with segregation levels among the overall population. It is especially high between black and white owners, regardless of city or suburban residence. In the City, close to 90 percent of all black homeowners would have to move to another census tract in order for the proportion of black to white homeowners in each tract equaled the proportion in the City as a whole. **[Figure 14]**

Stability of Integrated Census Tracts

Strongly diverging population growth rates of different racial groups raises the concern that previously integrated neighborhoods may undergo dramatic racial transition that could lead to neighborhood instability. In fact, relatively few moderately-integrated census tracts underwent dramatic racial change during the 1990s and those that did undergo a shift became mostly Latino. We define a Census tract as "moderately-integrated" if it was 10-19 percent black, 10-19 percent

[6] These ownership figures are calculated using only those Census respondents who identified one race only.
[7] Satellite cities defined as Aurora, Elgin, Joliet, Evanston, North Chicago, and DeKalb. These are the other "central cities" in the Chicago PMSA as defined by the Office of Management and Budget.

Figure 12

Chicago Metro Area School Enrollment
Change 1991-2000

	White		Black		Asian		Latino	
	Percent Change	Absolute Change	Percent Change	Absolute Change	Percent Change	Absolute Change	Percent Change	Absolute Change
COOK	-3.7	-10,033	4.7	13,569	22.9	6,519	51.1	69,124
DEKALB	16.4	1,899	56.0	196	2.2	4	186.2	620
DUPAGE	14.6	15,175	88.3	3,197	48.7	4,291	132.9	8,009
GRUNDY	15.2	1,021	416.7	25	-23.1	-9	126.8	194
KANE	14.7	8,029	26.7	1,572	55.6	1,166	106.0	12,393
KENDALL	23.8	1,729	502.8	181	105.4	59	116.8	529
LAKE	22.6	16,075	31.3	2,600	82.5	2,374	124.8	10,607
MCHENRY	34.0	9,900	407.0	232	149.5	326	209.9	2,162
WILL	23.2	10,646	27.0	2,504	59.0	540	107.3	3,964
Total	9.1	54,441	7.3	24,076	34.9	15,270	64.4	107,602

Note: Latinos may be of any race. Other groups contain only non-Latino members of racial group.
Source: Tabulations of data supplied by Illinois Dept. of Education.

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Figure 13

Change in Number of Homeowners by Race/Ethnicity: 1990-2000

	Number of Owners in 2000				Absolute Change in Owners (Minimum)				Percent Change in Owners (Minimum)			
	Non-Latino White	Latino	Black	Asian	Non-Latino White	Latino	Black	Asian	Non-Latino White	Latino	Black	Asian
Cook County	769,991	118,851	200,213	42,341	-21,189	54,692	38,807	15,679	-2.7	85.2	24.0	58.3
DeKalb County	18,021	439	139	141	3,040	260	50	57	20.3	145.3	56.2	64.8
DuPage County	218,054	10,399	3,794	14,634	24,319	5,881	1,866	6,965	12.6	130.2	96.8	90.4
Grundy County	10,079	206	7	16	1,837	111	5	-5	22.3	116.8	250.0	-23.8
Kane County	83,858	12,836	2,970	1,478	16,964	7,855	968	883	25.4	157.7	48.4	142.9
Kendall County	14,700	705	192	114	4,780	473	158	78	48.2	203.9	464.7	205.3
Lake County	144,273	11,426	5,890	5,486	26,090	7,038	1,654	3,376	22.1	160.4	39.0	156.9
McHenry County	70,587	2,315	276	845	21,310	1,637	233	614	43.2	241.4	541.9	251.6
Will County	119,266	7,307	9,018	2,660	38,289	4,165	3,619	1,773	47.3	132.6	67.0	193.3
Chicago PMSA	1,448,829	164,484	222,499	67,715	115,440	82,112	47,360	29,420	8.7	99.7	27.0	76.0
Aurora city	22,365	6,463	2,474	1,046	5,875	3,872	1,077	614	35.6	149.4	77.1	339.2
Chicago city	232,728	75,780	134,378	16,392	-14,446	31,012	11,952	4,967	-5.8	69.3	9.8	42.9
De Kalb city	5,085	181	69	99	775	106	34	35	18.0	141.3	97.1	53.0
Elgin city	16,550	3,933	817	689	1,845	2,634	356	422	12.5	202.8	77.2	153.5
Evanston city	12,039	431	2,540	398	712	158	121	117	6.3	57.9	5.0	41.2
Joliet city	19,913	2,823	2,315	234	6,228	1,526	471	141	45.5	117.7	25.5	143.9
North Chicago	849	436	1,423	43	-57	262	161	28	-6.3	150.6	12.8	186.7
Cities	309,529	90,047	144,016	18,901	932	39,570	14,172	6,524	0.3	78.4	10.9	52.0
Suburbs	1,139,300	74,437	78,483	48,814	114,508	42,542	33,188	22,896	11.2	133.4	73.3	87.6

Notes: Latinos may be of any race. Asian category also includes Pacific Islanders. Black and Asian groups contain Latino members of those racial groups. Changes represent minimum changes over 1990-2000, as 2000 race figures refer to people who chose that racial group alone and exclude those who chose two or more racial groups.

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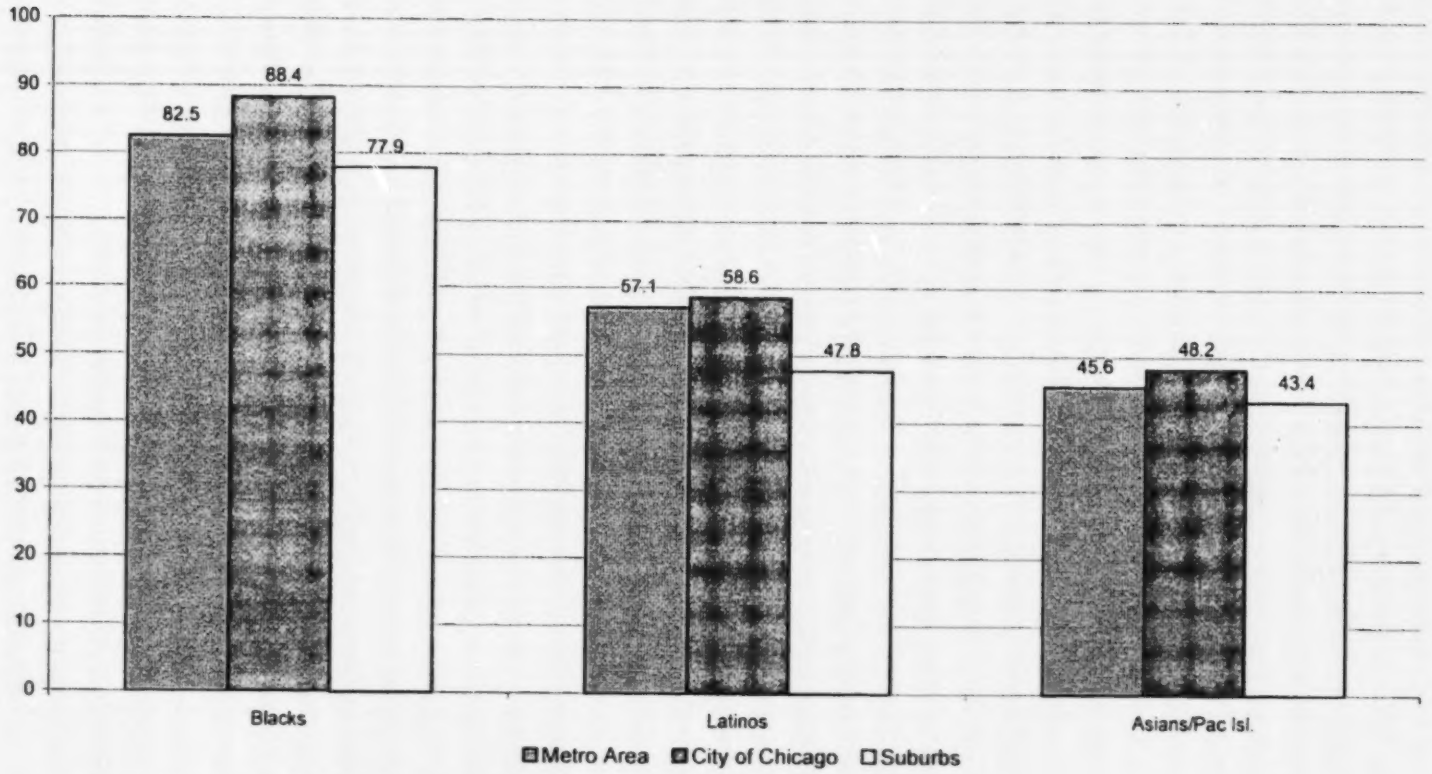
Figure 14

Segregation of Minority Homeowners from White Homeowners: 2000
(Dissimilarity Index)



Note: Latinos may be of any race. Blacks and Asian groups contain Latino members of those groups.
Index shows the share of minority homeowners who would have to move to another Census tract so tht the proportion of minority owners to white owners in each tract equals the proportion in the large overall area (metro area, City, or suburb.)
Source: Census Summary File 1.

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Latino, or 10-19 percent black and Latino combined. Within the City of Chicago, 94 tracts had moderate Latino integration in 1990 (i.e. were 10-19 percent Latino.) By 2000, 8 of these had become majority Latino. **[Figure 15]** Most of these tracts were in the southwest communities of West Lawn, West Elsdon, and Brighton Park, with a few in the northwest communities of Avondale and Belmont Cragin. Certain tracts in Montclare, Portage Park, East Side, and Edgewater underwent noticeable but less extreme shifts, becoming 40-50 percent Latino. In contrast, none of the 47 tracts with moderate black integration in 1990 became majority black over the period, and just one became more than 40 percent black. Even more significant, less than a third of the 16 tracts which were 40-50 percent black in 1990 became majority-black by 2000. Looked at another way, the moderately-integrated Latino tracts averaged a 9.0 percentage point increase in their share Latino over the decade, while moderately-integrated black tracts saw essentially no change in their share black. This is a substantial departure from the history of relatively rapid resegregation of tracts once they attained a moderately sized black population.

Racial transition of moderately-integrated black tracts was more pronounced in the suburbs. There, 6 of the 47 moderately-integrated tracts became majority black by 2000. All of these areas were located in the southern suburbs. Seven of the 80 moderately-integrated Latino suburban tracts became majority Latino. These areas were located largely in the near west Chicago suburbs, as well as north of North Chicago and of Elgin. In the suburbs, moderately-integrated black tracts averaged a 12.5 percentage point increase in their share black, and moderately-integrated Latino tracts averaged a 17.3 percentage point increase in their share Latino. Thus, rapid racial transition of moderately-integrated areas, though relatively rare, has become more pronounced in the suburbs than in the City of Chicago.

Multi-Ethnic Areas

For decades, Chicago has contained sizable white and black populations as well as a growing Latino presence. Substantial Latino and Asian growth has led to an increasing number of multi-ethnic census tracts: areas in which three or more groups account for 10 percent or more of the population. In the suburbs, the number of such tracts increased from 38 in 1990 to 96 in 2000. Generally these are areas consisting of blacks, whites, and Latinos located in the following areas: to the north of North Chicago, in southern Cook County (just south of the city limits,) and on the northern Will/southern DuPage border. Additionally, Asian, white, and Latino areas are located in northern Cook county or in DuPage County, between the City of Chicago and Elgin. **[Figures 16a and 16b]**

Within the City of Chicago, the number of multi-ethnic tracts increased from 106 to 123. Tracts which contain whites, blacks and Latinos are most numerous and cover the widest expanse of locations, including parts of Rogers Park, West Ridge, and Uptown in the north; Ashburn in the south; and West Town and Near West Side in the central area. White, Asian, Latino combinations are next most common, generally located in the north in parts of Uptown, Edgewater, North Park and Albany Park, and also below the canal in Bridgeport and in the Near W. Side. White, black, Asian tracts are more common in Hyde Park, the Loop, Near West Side, and to the north in Uptown, Edgewater and West Ridge. Interesting, while 17 tracts contain all 4 groups none contain only the black, Latino, Asian combination. **[Figures 17a and 17b]**

Figure 15

Racial Change of Moderately-Integrated Census Tracts

Change in Tracts That Were 10-19 Percent Black or Latino in 1990

(Number of Census Tracts)

City of Chicago	Total Number of Moderately Integrated Tracts	Tract Racial Composition in 2000 (Distribution of Tracts)				
		50% or More	40-49%	20-39%	10-19%	Less than 10%
Tract Racial Composition in 1990						
10-19% Latino	94	8	8	28	29	21
10-19% Black	47	0	1	9	30	7
10-19% Latino and Black	86	10	10	29	23	14

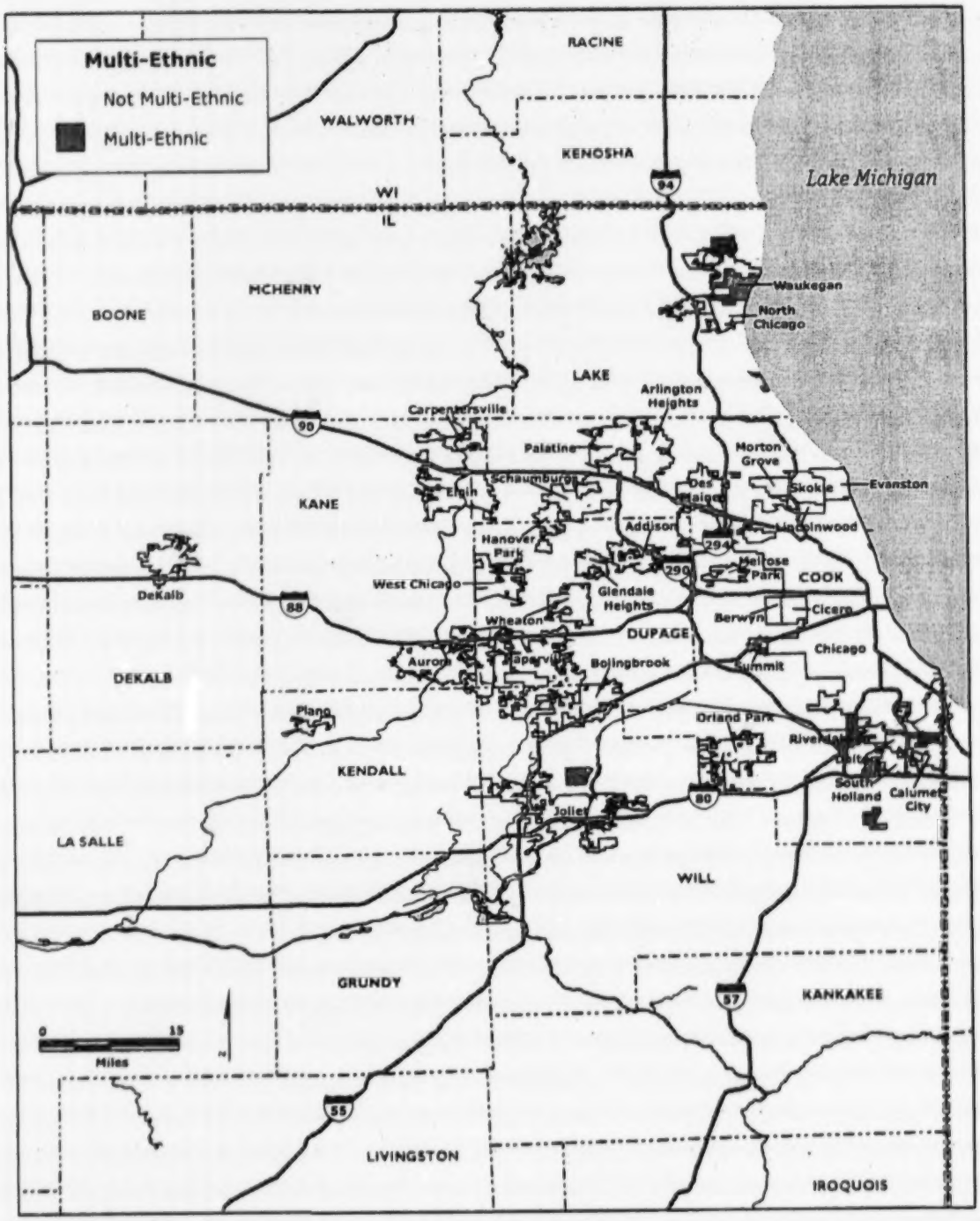
Suburbs	Total Number of Moderately Integrated Tracts	Tract Racial Composition in 2000 (Distribution of Tracts)				
		50% or More	40-49%	20-39%	10-19%	Less than 10%
Tract Racial Composition in 1990						
10-19% Latino	80	7	10	46	17	0
10-19% Black	47	6	0	29	8	4
10-19% Latino and Black	121	12	15	69	23	2

Note: "Neighborhood Composition in 2000" refers only to the minority group specified in the corresponding row.
"Moderately Integrated" defined as being 10-19% of a specified minority group.
"Suburbs" exclude tracts and portions of tracts in cities of Chicago, Aurora, DeKalb, Elgin, Evanston, Joliet, and North Chicago.

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

Figure 16A

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhoods, 1990



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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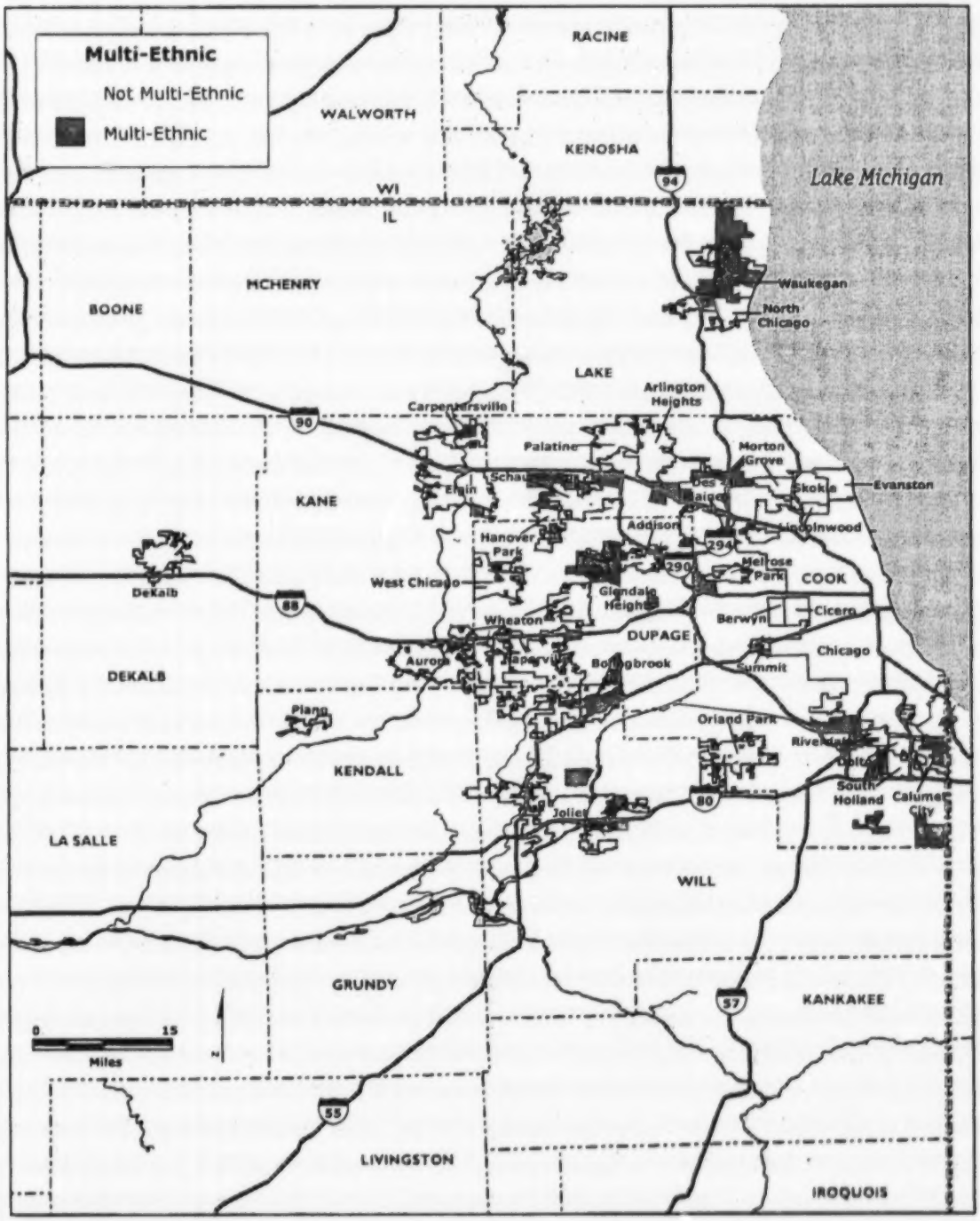
Figure 16B

CHICAGO SUBURBAN AREA:
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhoods, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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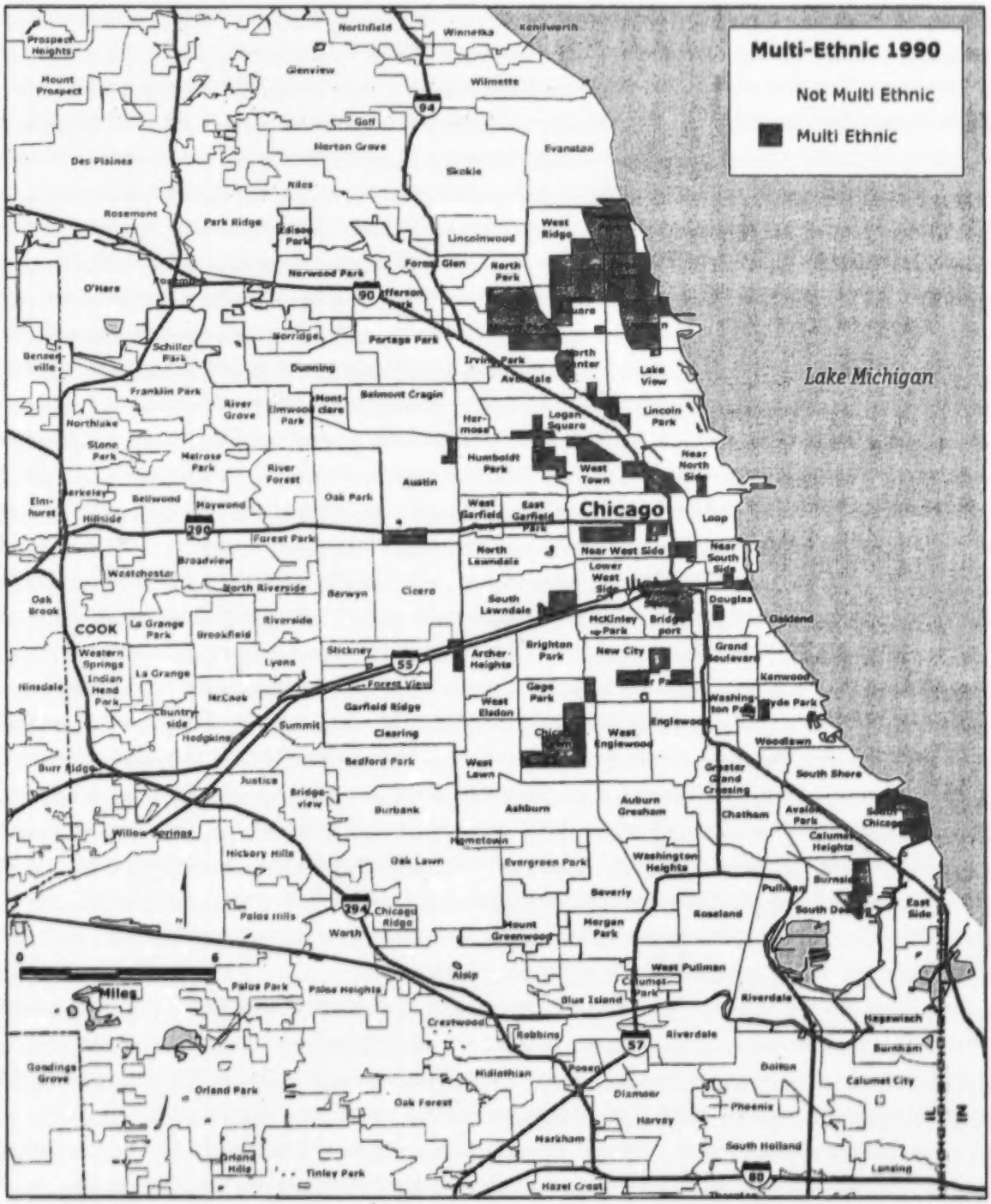
Figure 17A

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhoods, 1990



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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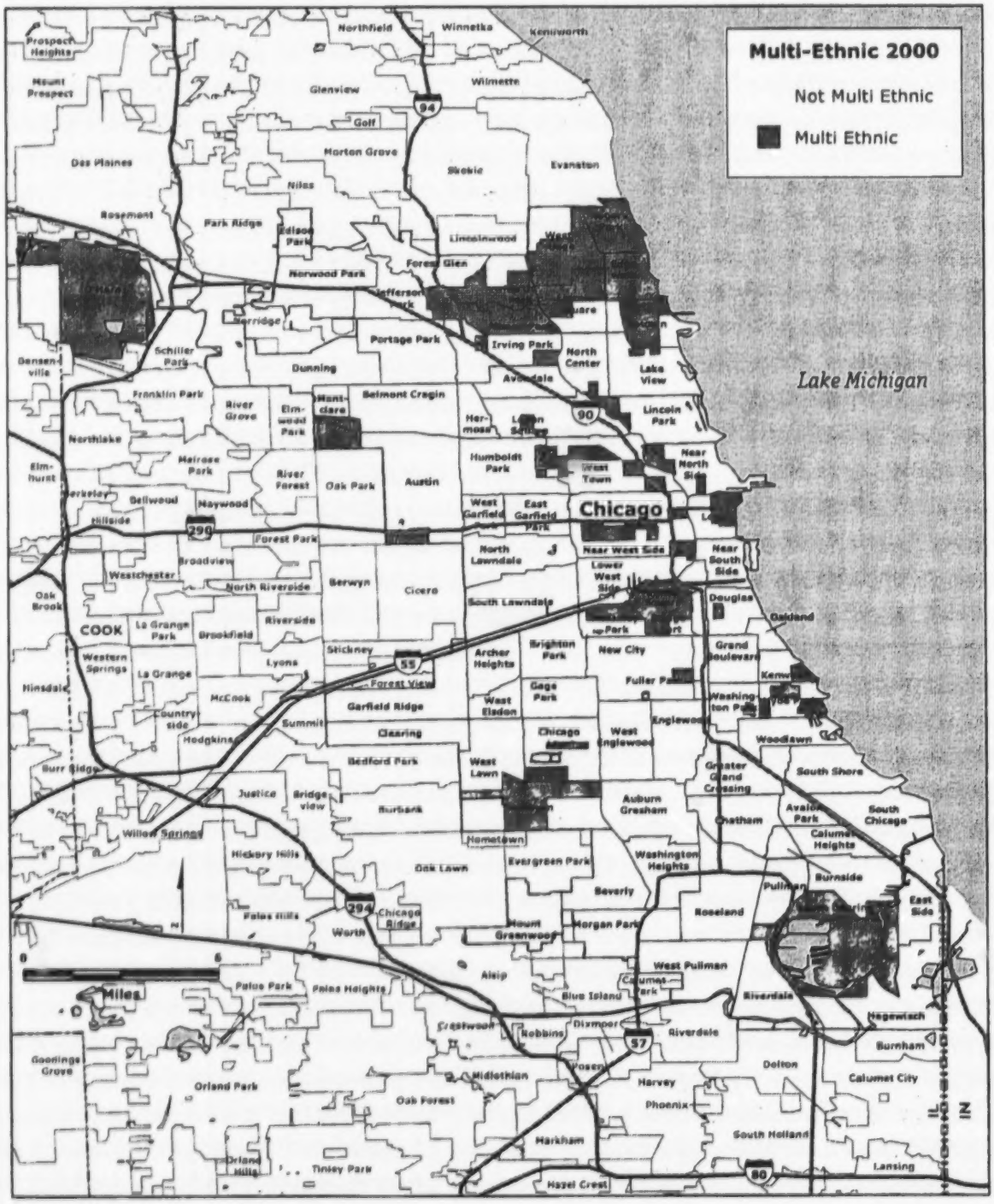
Figure 17B

CITY OF CHICAGO:
Multi-Ethnic Neighborhoods, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

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Components of Population Change

The changing racial and ethnic make-up of the Chicago area is fundamentally attributable to three forces, natural increase (births less deaths,) foreign immigration, and domestic migration (net movement from/to Chicago from/to other parts of the U.S.) While the 2000 Census data that would allow for the analysis of these trends has not yet been released, Census Bureau estimates based on administrative records over the 1990 to 1999 period are illustrative.

Within the Chicago metro area, the factors behind growth in Cook County, the central county containing the City of Chicago, are dramatically different than those in outlying counties. Between 1990 and 1999, Cook County **lost** 400,000 people due to net domestic out-migration. Only the influx of 300,000 foreign immigrants (along with substantial natural increase, undoubtedly related to high shares of Latinos) kept the County from losing population outright. In fact, without foreign immigration and natural increase, Cook County would have decreased by 14 percent over this period. To a much lesser extent, DuPage County, which closely borders Cook, showed a similar pattern, **losing** 7,000 people to domestic out-migration, but gaining 34,000 due to foreign immigration. In contrast, the remainder of counties in the metro area **gained** 193,000 people through domestic in-migration, but only 30,000 due to foreign immigration. Domestic in-migration alone led Kendall, McHenry, and Will counties to each see population increases of over 20 percent. **[Figure 18]**

Undoubtedly, these different growth drivers are intertwined with shifting racial and ethnic residential patterns. Strong foreign immigration to Cook County is a prime reason why Latino and Asian population growth has been so strong in the City of Chicago. And while minorities have made substantial inroads in suburban and outlying areas, continued white out-migration from the central cities to the suburbs has kept many suburban areas primarily white. The release of 2000 Census small area data showing patterns of nativity and geographic mobility will allow for more specific analysis along these lines.

Implications

The future of the Chicago area is inexorably linked to the well-being of its minority populations, most strongly in the cities and inner-suburbs, but increasingly throughout the region. Blacks continue to face the highest levels of segregation, and the extreme segregation of black children raise serious questions about their access to education, neighborhood amenities, and opportunities. While blacks are making gains in the suburbs, the high levels of segregation of black homeowners reemphasizes the need for Fair Housing and Fair Lending law enforcement. Latinos, the driving force behind Chicago population growth, have experienced growing segregation in suburban areas, especially among children. Continued strong immigration and high Latino fertility assure that they will be an increasing presence, and barriers to residential access are best addressed sooner rather then later. Because residential segregation is very often linked to segregated school settings, it is important that policy-makers be particularly vigilant in assuring that the growing Latino population has equal access to adequate education. Asians, though the least segregated of minority groups and with the highest minority ownership rates, are

Figure 18

Components of Population Change, 1990-1999

County	1990 Population	Change 1990-1999 Births	Deaths	(Net) Natural Increase	International Immigration	Domestic Migration	Change as Share of 1990 Population (Net) Natural Increase	International Immigration	Domestic Migration
Cook	5,105,044	844,323	443,014	401,309	302,257	-713,728	7.9	5.9	-14.0
DeKalb	77,932	9,296	5,146	4,150	669	4,433	5.3	0.9	5.7
DuPage	781,689	128,286	45,796	82,490	34,337	-6,973	10.6	4.4	-0.9
Grundy	32,337	4,380	2,614	1,766	234	2,942	5.5	0.7	9.1
Kane	317,471	61,120	21,489	39,631	7,486	36,994	12.5	2.4	11.7
Kendall	39,413	6,116	2,362	3,754	516	10,019	9.5	1.3	25.4
Lake	516,418	92,023	30,276	61,747	15,314	17,638	12.0	3.0	3.4
McHenry	183,241	33,731	12,588	21,143	2,534	40,246	11.5	1.4	22.0
Will	357,313	59,066	23,304	35,762	3,260	80,636	10.0	0.9	22.6

Source: Census Bureau, County Components of Population Change estimates.

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by no means a monolithic group. Latino, Asian, and other immigrants face particular challenges in assimilating to their new communities. Within the City of Chicago, increasing integration in certain areas highlights the opportunity for the formation of stably-integrated neighborhoods. However, what looks like integration at this point in time may just be a temporary period during the process of re-segregation. Actions at all levels are needed to assure equal access for all racial groups to neighborhoods and educational opportunities and to facilitate stabilization of communities.

Technical Notes

Defining Unique Racial Groups

The 2000 Census allowed respondents to choose one or more racial categories making exact comparison with 1990 racial groups difficult. For the purposes of this paper, we allocated persons who indicated more than one race to racial/ethnic groups in the following manner:

- We coded as "Latino" anyone who indicated that they are Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, regardless of what they answered for the race/ethnicity question.
- We coded as "non-Latino black" or "black" any non-Hispanic who indicated that they were African-American, regardless of any other race/ethnicity indicated.
- Of those remaining, we coded as "Asian" any non-Hispanic who indicated that they were Asian, regardless of any other race/ethnicity they may have indicated.
- We coded as "non-Latino white" or "white" non-Hispanics who answered only "white" as their race.

Tracts that are Split by Central City Political Boundaries

Census tract boundaries and city political boundaries do not always exactly coincide. Therefore, when a tract was split by a central city's political boundary, we created two "pseudo tracts", one that contained the summed data for all the blocks that lay entirely within the city boundary, and another suburban tract, which contained the summed data for all blocks that lay outside or partially outside the city boundary. The allocation of blocks to the "central city" or "suburban" portions of pseudo tracts was slightly different in the maps. In that case, the location of the centroid of the block determined whether it would be allocated to the "central city" or "suburban" portion of a pseudo tract.

The data used to compute dissimilarity indices for homeowners was allocated into "central city" and "suburban" tracts in a slightly different manner and is not exactly comparable to the data used in the population dissimilarity indices. Tracts that were split by a central city's political boundaries were allocated, in whole, to the "central city" if any portion of them fell within the central city boundaries, otherwise they were allocated, in whole, to the "suburbs." Secondly, the homeowner data for blacks and Asians includes Latino-blacks and Latino-Asians, unlike the population data, which is for non-Latino blacks and non-Latino owners.

Sources and Acknowledgements

The raw Census population data for the analysis is in this paper came from the "Census CD" produced by Geolytics, which adjusts 1990 Census tract and block boundaries to be consistent with 2000 Census boundaries. The homeownership data came from the Census Summary File.

Special thanks to the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation and Micah Brachman in particular for map production and consultation.

Appendix 1

Change in Population by Race/Ethnicity: 1990-2000

CHICAGO PMSA

	Population 1990	Population 2000	Percent Change	Absolute Growth	Share of Total Pop. (%) 1990	Share of Total Pop. (%) 2000
Metro Area						
Total	7,410,858	8,272,768	11.6	861,910		
White	4,897,602	4,798,533	-2.0	-99,069	66.1	58.0
Black	1,408,630	1,575,186	11.8	166,556	19.0	19.0
Latino	842,641	1,416,584	68.1	573,943	11.4	17.1
Asian	244,407	415,244	69.9	170,837	3.3	5.0
City of Chicago						
Total	3,180,289	3,388,889	6.6	208,600		
White	1,331,582	1,187,216	-10.8	-144,366	41.9	35.0
Black	1,139,027	1,145,251	0.5	6,224	35.8	33.8
Latino	588,555	866,801	47.3	278,246	18.5	25.6
Asian	115,298	155,870	35.2	40,572	3.6	4.6
Suburbs						
Total	4,225,692	4,883,979	15.6	658,287		
White	3,570,106	3,611,317	1.2	41,211	84.5	73.9
Black	271,104	429,923	58.6	158,819	6.4	8.8
Latino	241,877	549,783	127.3	307,906	5.7	11.3
Asian	134,926	259,374	92.2	124,448	3.2	5.3

Notes: Population totals includes other small categories not shown separately.
White, black, and Asian groups include only non-Latino members.
Suburbs exclude tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the cities of Chicago, Aurora, Elgin, Joliet, Evanston, North Chicago, and DeKalb.

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

Appendix 2

Community Areas with Greatest Population Change, by Race

Community Areas With Greatest Population Increase

Whites

Community	Increase
West Town	10,329
Lake View	7,159
Near N. Side	5,777
Near W. Side	3,059
Lincoln Park	2,373
Near S. Side	2,040
Loop	1,620
North Center	868
Uptown	755
Dunning	357

Blacks

Community	Increase
Chicago Lawn	19,119
Ashburn	13,538
Austin	7,494
S. Lawndale	5,210
Rogers Pk.	4,014
W. Ridge	3,215
S. Chicago	1,987
Beverly	1,820
Belmont Cragin	1,515
Gage Pk.	1,506

Latinos

Community	Increase
Belmont Cragin	33,815
Brighton Pk.	22,365
Gage Pk.	20,505
Avondale	13,341
Irving Pk.	13,178
W. Lawn	12,659
Albany Pk.	11,003
Portage Pk.	10,603
E. Side	7,934
Chicago Lawn	6,985

Asians

Community	Increase
W. Ridge	6,437
Bridgeport	4,045
Near N. Side	3,132
Near W. Side	2,883
Lake View	1,886
Armour Sq.	1,804
N. Park	1,395
Lincoln Pk.	1,346
Loop	1,316
Portage Pk.	1,259

Community Areas With Greatest Population Decrease

Whites

Community	Decrease
Ashburn	-16,108
Chicago Lawn	-16,026
Belmont Cragin	-15,384
Brighton Pk.	-11,131
Gage Pk.	-10,008
W. Ridge	-9,774
W. Lawn	-8,077
Avondale	-7,896
Irving Pk.	-7,280
Rogers Pk.	-6,857

Blacks

Community	Decrease
Englewood	-8,336
Grand Blvd.	-8,062
W. Englewood	-7,215
N. Lawndale	-6,025
New W. Side	-5,937
Washington Pk.	-5,368
Douglas	-5,127
Auburn Gresham	-3,972
Roseland	-3,728
E. Garfield Pk.	-3,292

Latinos

Community	Decrease
West Town	-13,396
Lake View	-4,664
S. Chicago	-3,080
N. Center	-2,552
Lower W. Side	-1,084
Logan Sq.	-911
Lincoln Pk.	-727
Calumet Heights	-173
Uptown	-120
W. Pullman	-74

Asians

Community	Decrease
Rogers Pk.	-415
Chicago Lawn	-374
Albany Pk	-353
Humboldt Pk	-193
Austin	-132
N. Center	-128
Hermosa	-91
Calumet Heights	-48
Englewood	-29
Roseland	-18

Source: 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

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Appendix 3

Change in Child Population by Race/Ethnicity: 1990-2000

CHICAGO PMSA

	Population 1990	Population 2000	Percent Change	Absolute Growth	Share of Total Pop. (%) 1990	Share of Total Pop. (%) 2000
Metro Area						
Total	1,922,739	2,227,163	15.8	304,424		
White	1,084,991	1,080,100	-0.5	-4,891	56.4	48.5
Black	451,497	512,977	13.6	61,480	23.5	23.0
Latino	310,340	510,699	64.6	200,359	16.1	22.9
Asian	69,853	104,487	49.6	34,634	3.6	4.7
City of Chicago						
Total	722,819	759,840	5.1	37,021		
White	158,587	122,672	-22.6	-35,915	21.9	16.1
Black	337,866	337,761	0.0	-105	46.7	44.5
Latino	200,779	265,857	32.4	65,078	27.8	35.0
Asian	22,850	26,667	16.7	3,817	3.2	3.5
Suburbs						
Total	1,098,106	1,332,990	21.4	234,884		
White	870,061	896,782	3.1	26,721	79.2	67.3
Black	92,833	148,919	60.4	56,086	8.5	11.2
Latino	88,160	202,773	130.0	114,613	8.0	15.2
Asian	44,250	73,464	66.0	29,214	4.0	5.5

Notes: Population totals includes other small categories not shown separately.
White, black, and Asian groups include only non-Latino members.
Suburbs exclude tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the cities of Chicago, Aurora, Elgin, Joliet, Evanston, North Chicago, and DeKalb.

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

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